Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-134
Thursday
11 July 1996

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FBIS-EEU-96-134 *11 July 1996*

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Albania: Press Views Berisha's Growing 'Anti-Americanism'

AU1007174796 Tirana POLI I QENDRES in Albanian 9 Jul 96 p 2

[Commentary by P. Nesturi: "Berisha Declares War on the United States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S.-Albanian relations have been further exacerbated after the strident tones of President Berisha's statement at the meeting of the World Economic Forum held in Austria. As previously when wishing to take a firm stand, Berisha has exploited a visit abroad to display his anti-Americanism to Europe. Berisha stressed to journalists at a news conference that the Greek-American lobby is to blame for the poor image of Albania and for sensitivities over the vote-rigging of 26 May. Thus, it is only a specific lobby that has initiated the successive stands taken by the U.S. State Department as events have run their course, the discussions about Albania in the Commission for Europe and in the U.S. Congress, and the strong statement by the six congressmen addressed to President Clinton calling for a tough stance toward the electoral farce in Albania. While he grasps at this straw, the Albanian president cannot deny the totality, which is a frontal attack by the United States against the positions he has assumed.

In the last few months, there has been a noticeable escalation in Berisha's statements about U.S.-Albanian relations. From not mentioning the name of the United States, friendship with it, and integration into European and Atlantic structures, Berisha moved on to "infringements of national sovereignty" in order to counter the proposals of the State Department and European institutions to solve the political crisis and to hold free and equal elections.

At his meeting with the Democratic Party parliamentary group, Berisha moved into a second gear of anti-Americanism, although he did not call it such, when he said that the opposition boycott had been inspired by certain circles that have long been wanting to gobble up one-half of Albania. He even on this occasion invented a new sort of terrorism, "anti-Albanian terrorism." Finally, when the U.S. Government openly announced its stand over the farce of 26 May, announcing that it will exert its influence and cooperate with international organizations in this direction, this was followed by the U.S. diplomats' "boycott" of the appointed Albanian parliament. Berisha then declared himself openly, throwing down the gauntlet to the United States. His former phrase of "anti-Albanian terrorism," which connected the opposition's decision to boycott parliament with circles ready to gobble up part of Albania, blossomed into the announcement, "The aim of the boycott was to lead the Albanians into civil war." This is no more and no less than an open declaration of war over "preservation of national sovereignty," and Berisha is doing this to the state he used to call "the champion of democracy."

Albania: OSCE Resolution Calls for New Elections

AU1007180096 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 10 Jul 96 p 3

[Report by El. El.: "OSCE: 'New Elections in Albania'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has voted for new elections in Albania. In the Swedish capital Stockholm yesterday evening, the assembly members held out another prospect for the repeat of the parliamentary elections. "The OSCE calls on all the political parties in Albania to consider new parliamentary elections after a reasonable period, and to set a date after improving conditions, in the presence of international observers." Thus runs the final resolution approved yesterday evening by 77 votes in favor, 54 against, and with 18 abstentions, after a bitter debate among the assembly members who have been meeting in Stockholm for the last five days.

Genc Pollo, chairman of the Albanian OSCE parliamentary delegation, was calm even after the approval of this resolution that again called for new elections in Albania. "All resolutions of this nature have an advisory character. This is a suggestion for the Albanian parties, and I say that every party has had its own view," Pollo said. The controversial issue of the 26 May elections was broached again three days ago, and Pollo travelled to Stockholm. "The Albanian delegation was summoned to support the OSCE resolution," states the resolution approved yesterday evening. However, the Democratic Party [PD] has never accepted the OSCE report issued after the elections, which, according to yesterday's assembly resolution, "was compiled by observers from 55 countries who saw the violation of the local laws and irregularities in the voting." The PD has seen the triumph of 26 May as a coronation with the people's free vote. The Albanian delegation therefore bitterly opposed the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's call for it to support the organization's earlier resolution. In front of the 315 members of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly from 55 countries of the world, the Albanian politicians remained loyal to their conviction of victory and of the freedom of the elections.

The Spanish European deputy Javier Ruperez, the chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly, expressed during the discussion of the draft resolution a desire to hold a new conference, which would ask for talks with the Albanian authorities in order to convince them why new elections should be held. "This resolution

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establishes a legal way of counting votes, in order to stabilize the electoral process," he said. The draft resolution was voted on early yesterday afternoon. Will there be early elections in Albania? According to this most recent resolution, this seems to be something that the parties must consider.

Albania: TV Reporting of OSCE Resolution 'Scandalous'

AU1007192796 Tirana POLI I QENDRES in Albanian 10 Jul 96 p 3

[Editorial: "This Television Is Scandalous"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After broadcasting a report on garbage cans and tree nurseries, then the sensational news about the National Front agreeing to join the government, and after rebroadcasting once again yesterday's report on the meeting of the Socialists, the only Albanian state radio and television service exposed itself yet again as the most scandalous medium the country possesses today. In a news item of gobbledygook read out in the studio, it was said that an article put to the vote in Stockholm was passed thanks to the pressure of Philhellenes living in the United States and the European left. The president's errand boy Pollo was then quoted as having told ATA that the right had all voted against the article in question. The television report resorted to all kinds of persiflage to say that the OSCE has appealed to the Albanian political parties to consider among other things the possibility of new elections. This meant that nobody could understand what the U.S.-passport-bearing Greeks and the European left had devised in the Swedish capital against Mr. Berisha's "right-wing" Albanian democracy. Nobody appeared in front of the cameras to tell the Albanians that the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly had met in Stockholm, that a resolution about Albania had been discussed at this annual session, that the assembly's Political Commission had put this resolution in front of Mr. Pollo the day before yesterday, and that the commission had also passed this "diversionary" article. Nobody told the Albanians that this article explicitly states that "The OSCE calls on the Albanian parties to consider new elections within a reasonable but limited period of time, under democratic conditions." That is what Albanian citizens, who are now integrated in Europe, might have been told on the main evening news bulletin. A resolution calling for new elections from the same organization that directly observed our polls on 26 May is much more important than regulations about garbage cans and tree nurseries, even when these come from the office of the president himself.

Albania: SP Leader Welcomes OSCE Call for Elections

AU1007180396 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Jul 96 p 1

[Unattributed interview with Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi in Tirana on 9 July: "The Socialist Party Supports the OSCE's Stands and Relies on Them To Define Its Own Political Standpoints—Consistent U.S. Stand in Support of Democratic Processes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Asked by our newspaper's editor about the decision of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Socialist Party [PS] Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi said:

[Pellumbi] At its meeting yesterday, the PS General Management Committee received with great attention and unanimously welcomed the news of the initiative by honored representatives of the United States and the Netherlands in the Political Commission of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly to repeat the elections on 26 May in the presence of foreign observers within a suitable but limited period of time. This consistent U.S. stand in support of ever-advancing democratic processes, is a major form of encouragement to all the political forces that have denounced the electoral farce of 26 May and the entire Albanian electorate that is asking for its confidence in the values of democracy and free elections to be restored. Another important piece of news came from Stockholm today. The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has passed by a majority of votes the proposal of its Political Commission for new elections in Albania. This decision gives new dimensions and even greater value to all the standpoints and resolutions of international organizations about the elections in Albania so far. The PS has supported them and has relied on them for its own political stands. The world now knows the truth about the theft of the votes on 26 May and is asking for the restoration of faith in democracy on the basis of free and fair elections. For us, the stance of "Berisha's regime" is entirely unacceptable: the regime is trying to play a dangerous game with the card of demagogic nationalism, taking the democratic and well-intentioned messages of the U.S. State Department, the Parliament of the EU, the OSCE, and the Council of Europe as "interference in internal affairs" or "infringements of sovereignty." There can be no future for the walls of isolation from democratic countries that Berisha and his government are trying to build in order to remain in power in spite of the people's will expressed in their votes. Democracy in Albania is indeed passing through a crisis, but it is not without a future. Free elections are the magic key to democracy.

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Albania: Role of Berisha's 'Errand Boy' Pollo Depolored

AU1007181196

[FBIS Report] The Tirana opposition papers POLI I QENDRES and ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 10 July carry critical comment on the role of Genc Pollo, chairman of the Albanian OSCE parliamentary delegation to Stockholm, who is seen by one paper as "Berisha's Errand Boy."

POLI I QENDRES carries on page two a 600-word commentary by Mentor Gjini entitled "Berisha's Errand Boy—Genc Pollo With His Tail Between his Legs," which states:

"Led by the blond Pollo, Berisha's foremost assistant and his appointee in the second round of the electoral farce, the parliamentary quartet also made up of Brojka, Rexhepi, and Melo went to Stockholm in high hopes but returned badly shorn. The mixed team chosen with so much care by Arbnori to 'harvest the first international success' of the new parliament became so confused that, according to reports from the Swedish capital, they lost their way to the hotel. Their first surprise was at the OSCE Political Commission on 7 July, at which the U.S. and Netherlands representatives proposed the repetition of the elections in Albania. This was a bolt from the blue for Genc Pollo and the team from the PVG [Parlamenti i Votave te Grabitura, 'Parliament of Stolen Votes']. It was unexpected, and it cramped their style, especially when the proposal was put to the vote and it was decided it would be discussed at yesterday's OSCE Parliamentary Assembly session. Their own four votes counted for nothing in the scales. They spent a sleepless night under the arctic sky of Stockholm, discussed at length, and finally decided that they would not be shaken. They had the example of the doctor [Berisha] before them: A savage attack on the Greek-American lobby and the proposal would melt away like snow in summer. They all welcomed the solution of the 'brilliant' Pollo, even the 'dissident' Socialist Sali Rexhepi, who together with his blond Nordic-style boss did his utmost to persuade the OSCE that both the government and the opposition in Albania agree on the result of the 26 May elections and do not want a new ballot. However, they did not pull off their deception. The OSCE is well aware of the situation in Albania and knows that the voting on 26 May was a coup d'etat and the prelude to the establishment of a new dictatorship. The U.S.-Netherlands proposal was put to the vote and approved by 77 votes in favor, 54 against, and 18 abstentions. What could the wretched Albanian parliamentary delegation do? Chairman Pollo was not ready to give up the struggle, and , following the example of his boss Berisha, anathematized the Greek-American lobby. Pollo One (the deputy Genc) then sent a message to Pollo Two (Bardhyl, director of the Democratic Party's Radio-Television), and the radio and television did not utter a word about the disaster at the OSCE. It had other things to say, such as statements about Kosova and Pollo One's speech about it. But there was silence over everything else. Pollo Two issued reports that would have amazed even Pollo One.

"But how to stop the mouths of the outside world, the Voice of America, the BBC, and so forth? Pollo One inadvertently became the victim of Ilir Ikonomi of Voice of America. One could tell from the way he talked that he had his tail between his legs, as when a dog is hit by his master for doing something wrong. However, he holds fast to the slogan 'trampled on but proud.' In his interview with Ikonomi, he repeated that the Greek-American lobby is maintaining an anti-Albanian attitude, that the result was close (23 votes—why he calls that close he alone knows!), that only the left voted, that the debate about 26 May can and must be considered closed, and that any political party in Albania may have its own views, but it has now been decided that the elections will be held after four years.

"Pollo thus copied the state's number one, Berisha, who spoke at Crans-Montana and said that the next elections in Albania will be held in the year 2000. What do these attitudes show?

"First, they show that the PD and its de facto chairman Berisha have not taken seriously and will not act on the resolutions of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament or the stands taken by the U.S. State Department. Second, they show that their neocommunist mentality is leading Albania into new isolation. The 'summer of great loneliness' [reference to title of novel by Ismail Kadare] has now begun, evident in this absurd contrariness in the face of Europe and the United States. Third, the earlier slogan 'We govern and the world helps us,' has been replaced by the phrase 'We govern and have no need of anybody else.' In a word, the loyal factotum Pollo, PD International Secretary Brojka, Trojan horse Melo (or 'Berisha's sixth finger' as they call him in the Human Rights Union) and Rexhepi, the new politician from Librazhd who represents the socialist 'opposition' did not pull the wool over the OSCE's eyes."

ZERI I POPULLIT carries on page three an unattributed commentary entitled "Attacks the United States," which states:

"Genc Pollo or 'President Berisha's Western face cream' strongly attacked yesterday the decision of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. Pollo resorted to

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tactics from the Cold War, bitterly attacking the U.S. delegation and reminding the Albanians that friction with the world's largest democracy has not merely been sporadic. "The recommendation was placed before the Parliamentary Assembly for approval on the proposal of some U.S. legislators who have acted on the policies of the extremists of the Greek lobby in the United States,' Pollo said. The president's political adviser showed yesterday that he toes his boss's line where attacks on the Americans are concerned. However, even as he attacked, he was at pains to provide his enemies with a fig leaf. Pollo said yesterday that he had talked to various U.S. congressmen, some of whom had told him that they did not agree with their colleague who had sponsored this resolution, because, according to their information, the elections in Albania had been in order. Meanwhile, nobody has so far identified these congressmen. Pollo did not even dare to do so. Two successive letters from several U.S. congressmen have been made known to the Albanian public. These insist that President Clinton should ask the Albanian Government to hold new nationwide elections. The U.S. Government and the State department have been consistent in their attitude of demanding an international investigation of the irregularities in the Albanian elections and calling the elections of 26 May 'a significant step backward compared to those of March 1992.' It is this stand by the Americans, alongside their failure to attend the opening of the parliament these irregular elections produced, that have led to these reactions from the Albanian president's office. However, whereas everybody imagined that until yesterday that Pollo whispered in Berisha's ear, 'We may go in search of America, general, but we will wander like the Jews in the wilderness,' it now appears that Pollo is toeing the general's line and that 'Berisha's Western face cream' more than ever appears past its sell-by date."

Albania: Union Official Meets Visiting Greek Delegation

AU1107090596 Tirana ATA in English 1733 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 10 (ATA)—The Secretary General of the Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania (UITUA), Fatmir Musaku, met in Tirana on Wednesday with representatives of the Greek Labour Institute, Dr. Janis Kavziz and Zabas Ronpolis. They have come to Albania to hold a three day seminar with members of UITUA for the defence of the social question.

Musaku discussed with the Greek guests the issue of Albanian emigrants' legalisation in Greece. Dr. Kavzis stressed that the Greek Trade Unions agreed to the legalisation of Albanian emigrants as soon as possible and for this issue they had also addressed to the Greek parliament. Musaku said that UITUA committed itself to cooperation and understanding in the common trade union field as an additional guarantee in the multilateral relations between the two countries.

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Bulgaria: Zhelev Meets Albanian, Slovak Presidents

AU1007120196 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 9 Jul 96 p 4

[Article by KONTINENT special correspondent Yovka Dimitrova from Salzburg: "Presidents of Bulgaria, Albania, and Slovakia Complained to One Another About Their Troubles"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The economic forum on Eastern Europe in Salzburg brought President Zhelyu Zhelev and Andrey Lukanov together in the same hotel, but a source in the Bulgarian delegation was adamant that the two would not meet.

Andrey Lukanov was invited as a member of the board of Topenergy, but it was not clear whom he will meet, as he is keeping his meetings secret.

On 8 July, President Zhelev met with his Albanian and Slovak counterparts Sali Berisha and Michal Kovac. Berisha told him that he is pleased with Stefan Naumov, the ill-famed Bulgarian ambassador in Tirana. Naumov gave Berisha a 40-page document that proved that the Albanian elections were democratic, contrary to the opinion held by the European observers.

Michal Kovac complained to Zhelev that his access to the media was restricted since Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar replaced the radio and television chiefs overnight. I am in a better position, Zhelev replied, I can make addresses to the nation. In an interview given to Euronews, Zhelev declared that the Bulgarian Government is not doing enough to promote Bulgaria. The president criticized the ruling Socialists for lacking the political will to press Bulgaria's NATO candidacy.

Seven businessmen met with Zhelev and Bulgarian Trade Minister Atanas Paparizov. The foreigners showed interest in the privatization projects and in the sale of the Devnya soda ash plant. They reportedly expressed surprise at the strange manner in which the agricultural reform is being conducted in Bulgaria.

Although we have such a high level of representation, in practice we are left out of the discussions, said Andrey Lukanov, who has a personal invitation to the forum. All the interest is taken up by Russia and the central European countries, he said. Lukanov believes that we have no room for complaint, because they are far ahead of us in attracting foreign investments.

EU Commissioner Hans van den Broek received President Zhelev and Trade Minister Paparizov to discuss matters relating to European integration.

Bulgaria: Armed Forces' Chiefs Brief Zhelev on Problems

AU1007134296 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 10 Jul 96

[Announcement by Presidential Press Center]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today President Zhelyu Zhelev called a meeting of the leaders of the Bulgarian Armed Forces. The meeting was attended by Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov; Colonel General Tsvetan Totomirov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff; the chiefs of the main headquarters of the armed services and the air force commanders; the heads of the national services and the border and internal troops; and the chiefs of the Main Adminstrations of the Transport Ministry troops and the construction troops.

The president was briefed on the current problems relating to the conditions and maintenance of weapons and combat equipment and problems in ensuring the provision of personnel, finance, materials, and equipment due to insufficient and inconstant financing from the state budget.

President Zhelev thanked the commanders for their conscientious and worthy service under the serious conditions of the current general crisis that is affecting the country. He noted that the government is bound to do everything necessary to guarantee more than just the minimum needed for the survival of the armed forces, adding that because at the present rates of provision there is a risk that some services and branches may find themselves unable to fulfill their tasks of guaranteeing Bulgaria's national security.

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Czech Republic: Confusion Over Kinkel Statement on Declaration

AU1007184396 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 10 Jul 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Michal Mocek and Kamila Cerovska: "It Is Not Known in Either Prague or Bonn When the Declaration Will Be Adopted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The announcement by Federal Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel that the conclusion of the joint Czech-German declaration is within reach is causing confusion among the politicians of the two countries. Deputies from the two parliaments are unable to specify when the talks on the declaration will come to an end, and the method for approving this document is not clear to the deputies in Prague. They merely agree that the time is approaching when the contents of the declaration should be discussed more concretely than before the elections.

"Maybe the two governments will reach an agreement before the summer recess. It would be nice, but it is not too likely," said Karl Lammers, the foreign affairs spokesman for Kohl's Christian Democratic Union, about the document that should bring a political end to the disputes of the past and compensate the Czech victims of Nazism. According to him, Prague and Bonn will obviously come together in a final point of view on the declaration only after vacation.

"I consider November or December to be a realistic date for discussing the Czech-German declaration in parliament," said Vilem Holan, chairman of the Czech parliament Foreign Committee.

So, the declaration will be discussed only after the senatorial elections to be held in mid-November. "It is necessary to bear the date of the elections in mind. Only the Czechs can decide whether they will approve the declaration before or after them," said Lammers, who thinks that the declaration can be approved before the elections to the Senate.

Former German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, however, has called upon the federal government to approve the document before the end of July. "The time for the federal government's decision on completing the talks on the declaration is more than ripe," wrote Genscher yesterday in the paper NORDSEE-ZEITUNG. According to him, the Bonn government has to confirm what Foreign Minister Kinkel negotiated with Prague before the summer recess. It is apparent from Genscher's commentary that the declaration is ready, which is also being said by other sources from the two countries.

However, the spokesman for the Bavarian Government claims: "We have an agreement with the federal government that, if the negotiations on the declaration are brought to a conclusion, it will discuss it once more within the framework of the governing coalition. So far, I do not know that any invitation to such talks has come from the federal chancellery."

The Sudeten German Council, whose demands are often supported by the Bavarian Government, however, rejected the declaration yesterday. "It would only make sense if it were to take adequately into consideration the justified demands of the Sudeten Germans and if their representatives were to have the opportunity to play a creative part in resolving the issues that concern the Sudeten Germans," states the proclamation of the council that affiliates Sudeten organizations, including Neubauer's Landsmannschaft. Instead of a declaration, the council has called for a policy of specific steps, among which, for example, it places a Czech-German youth exchange project.

Meantime, Czech political parties consider the suggestions that this document is ready to be rather premature. "But there is no reason not to believe that the declaration is approaching finalization," said Vilem Holan (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party).

The coalition and the Czech Social Democratic Party insist that the drafting of the text of the joint declaration is a matter for government officials. Nevertheless, they envisage that, as soon as it is ready, the Chamber will have it at its disposal.

At the moment, the deputies have no idea how they will approve the declaration. They think that it will be sufficient for its adoption if, as in the approval of international treaties, a simple majority of the deputies present in the Chamber support the text. Consequently, according to them, the document's approval would not require the support of three-fifths of the deputies in the 200-member Chamber, as in the case of a constitutional law.

The deputies, however, concur in the view that it would be fitting to reach a political agreement so that as many of the legislators as possible vote in favor of the declaration. "I would like the maximum number of deputies to support it," said Chamber Deputy Chairman Jiri Vlach (Civic Democratic Party).

The governments in Prague and Bonn have been conducting the talks on the joint declaration since last summer. The declaration should bring a political conclusion to the contentious issues in mutual relations, which, apart from compensation for the victims of Nazism, also

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include, in particular, an assessment of the transfer of the Sudeten Germans and their right to their property.

Czech Republic: Coalition Struggle Looming Over Policy Statement

AU1007155896 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 10 Jul 96 p 1

[Report by "(ina)": "The Coalition Is Conducting a Struggle Over the Form of its Program"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Following the two-week truce among the coalition troika, the parties are again heading toward a bitter struggle, this time over the form of the Cabinet's policy statement, through which the government will compete for parliament's favor.

The strongest party, as in the case of the coalition agreement, is pushing for a less specific text, while the People's Party and the Alliance are demanding rigorously that the individual chapters be far more detailed.

"This has been the main dispute within the coalition since the beginning. The Civic Democratic Party tries to draft the least specific version of all of the joint documents. It is playing a wild card. It is partly making concessions to Zeman, and, at the same time, it wants to keep its hands free so that, in the future, no one can criticize it for not adhering to everything," said a member of Klaus's Cabinet.

The individual ministers yesterday completed the basic text of the government's program, which Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus had submitted to his Cabinet colleagues last week; however, the representatives from the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] and the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] are still not satisfied with it. The document is, in essence, a rehashed coalition agreement, including certain verbatim formulations.

"It is a very general text; a number of things in it, compared with the coalition agreement, are more refined. We have about 15 or 20 issues in which we will push for a clearer formulation. These include, for example, the ratio of average pensions and salaries and the passage on the country's future incorporation into NATO," said KDU-CSL Chairman Josef Lux.

Likewise, Kalvoda's Alliance made it clear yesterday that, at today's Cabinet meeting, it intends to push for more specific contents in the government's program. For example, ODA will demand that a more precise reference is made in the document to how the pension fund will operate after it is separated from the state budget.

Czech Republic: KDU-CSL Elects Borak To Head Deputies Club

AU1007155996 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 10 Jul 96 p 2

[Report by "(kac)": "The KDU-CSL Deputies Have a New Leader"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prague—The People's Party yesterday elected Josef Borak the new chairman of its Deputies Club. He replaces Miloslav Vyborny in this post. Vyborny was appointed defense minister during the formation of the new government, so he has had to give up his post in parliament.

Borak is not a novice in politics inasmuch as he led the People's Party Deputies Club in the Federal Assembly four years ago. He joined the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] in 1990. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: Dlouhy Outlines Economic Policy Objectives

AU1007141896 Vienna WIRTSCHAFTSBLATT in German 10 Jul 96 p A4

[Interview with Czech Privatization Minister Vladimir Dlouhy by Aureliusz Pedziwol; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pedziwol] What impact have the parliamentary elections had on the Czech Republic's economic policy?

[Dlouhy] The basic policy direction will remain the same. The most important transformation steps must be followed through to completion. The economy must grow rapidly enough to close the gap between our country and the EU average. Inflation must decline while we achieve this rate of growth.

[Pedziwol] What are the most pressing challenges faced by the new government?

[Dlouhy] First, we must advance privatization wherever there is room to do so, such as in the energy sector and the railroads. Second, the Czech economy needs to foster a more favorable climate for entrepreneurs. By that I mean lowering the tax burden, supporting modernization and investment, liberalizing trade policy, and supporting research and education.

[Pedziwol] Your minority government requires the support of the Social Democrats, but they have often adopted postions contrary to yours on issues such as privatization and fiscal policy. How do you intend to win their support?

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[Dlouhy] I believe we will be able to find a common denominator with the opposition. As soon as we have established a regulatory framework, we will reach an agreement with the opposition on privatization, including privatization of the energy sector. Our strategic partner does not necessarily have to be a foreign investor. However, there are areas in which the government enjoys executive powers. In those areas, we will be able to get our way without consulting parliament.

[Pedziwol] Wouldn't the government risk open warfare in parliament if it were to exercise its executive powers without seeking approval from the opposition?

[Dlouhy] I do not want to wage war under any circumstances. On the other had, our economic policy is based on certain fundamental pillars, and it would be difficult to do without them. If we encounter resistance in this regard, a conflict will be inevitable.

[Pedziwol] Should the Economics Ministry be reorganized?

[Dlouhy] We intend to establish an Economics Ministry that resembles those in Austria and Germany. It will deal with industry, the energy sector, and trade, including foreign trade, as well as private business, commerce, and tourism.

[Pedziwol] And will you take over that ministry?

[Dlouhy] Yes, that is when the Privatization Ministry will be disbanded. It is a natural development. Privatization issues will then be handled by the Finance Ministry.

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Slovakia: Kovac Says Government To Blame If No EU Membership

AU1107123996 Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 10 Jul 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Ivan Ceredejev: "I Am Considering the Possibility of a Pardon"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—Slovak President Michal Kovac criticized the absence of Slovak businessmen and representatives of Slovak commercial banks at the economic summit of central and eastern European countries organized by the World Economic Forum in Salzburg. On his return from Mozart's city, the president acknowledged that the event was attended by representatives of the National Bank of Slovakia and by the state secretaries of the Ministries of Economy and Finance, but, according to his words, it is "terrible" that entrepreneurial entities let slip such an opportunity only because the delegation was headed by the president.

The president's talks with Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky and EU Commissioner van den Broek concerned Slovakia's efforts at integration into the EU and NATO. His partners once again pointed to the obstacles standing in the way of membership of Euroatlantic structures. Van den Broek specified them as questions of a democratic political culture, including participation by the opposition in the control of executive power and insufficiently transparent privatization. "He stressed that promises are not decisive, but deeds," the president said. In the talks, the EU commissioner also put across the EU's stand regarding the start of negotiations with EU associate countries, Michal Kovac said. According to van den Broek, it has not been decided yet whether the talks will start with all candidates or with only a selected group of states. The decision will be made after the intergovernmental conference in the second half of next year. However, the invitation will be preceded by talks about the expansion of NATO toward the end of this year. "This means that we do not have one year for corrective steps, but only a few months," the president warned. "I do not object when the prime minister claims that all of us would be responsible for a possible lack of success. It is evident, however, that the accommodating steps that the EU expects of us are in the hands of the government coalition, mainly the prime minister," the president stressed. "If we know what steps we are supposed to take and do not take them," Michal Kovac said, "neither the opposition nor the president can be blamed for it." [passage omitted]

Slovakia: Commentary Analyzes Meciar's Foreign Policy 'Errors'

AU1107090896 Bratislava SME in Slovak 10 Jul 96 p 4

[Commentary by Peter Zajac, chairman of the Democratic Party Board of Consultants: "Vladimir Meciar's Two Fatal Errors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This time, I will not be concerned with the domestic policy of Vladimir Meciar, but with his foreign policy, though it will be difficult to avoid domestic policy issues either. This is because Vladimir Meciar's foreign policy stems from two fateful errors made in shaping it.

Vladimir Meciar committed the first fatal error when he pronounced the well-known sentence: If they will not accept us in the West, we will turn to the East. From this followed the practical steps of Slovak foreign policy, which has assumed the appearance of the Roman God Janus with two faces—one facing the West, the other facing the East. On the one hand, the Slovak Republic applied for admission into the EU and participates in the Partnership for Peace project, which is a preliminary stage of NATO entry. At the same time, by its own specific steps, it puts itself at a disadvantage in this process because it does not meet at least two of the four EU and NATO admission criteria—those regarding democracy in the country and the state's minorities policy. On the other hand, the Slovak Republic is tying itself politically to Russia by special agreements, in a careless manner not dissimilar to [former Czechoslovak President Edvard] Benes's policy in the forties, and is building a one-sided energy dependence on Russia. At the same time, General Lebed's recent words leave no one in doubt that Russia's interests in the former East Europe are shifting from today's central Europe to the Baltic and Commonwealth of Independent States countries and, globally, to eastern Asia. Such is simply the logic of Russia's great power politics, against which Meciar's thinking is crude amateurism. The fatal error of this foreign policy lies in the formulation of a false alternative. The alternative to nonadmission to the European structures is not "turning to the East," but Slovakia's increasingly deteriorating position for entry into western European structures.

One need not be overly intelligent to realize this. It is enough to take a look at the map. With the exception of its 60-km border with Ukraine, Slovakia borders only on states that either are EU members or will be in the first group of newly admitted countries. The situation regarding NATO is similar. Plainly speaking, Slovakia is closed in among countries with which it has found itself compared, and, with the passage of time,

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will increasingly find itself in a steadily deteriorating position, regardless of whether it will remain at the end of 1996 in the first group of candidates for EU and NATO membership or will drop into the second group. But even relegation to the second group of states does not mean final rejection by the European structures. It means, however, a substantial decelaration of the whole process, because of the uncertain time frame for admitting further countries and, in the final analysis, a further deterioration of the conditions. The EU and NATO will keep a sharper eye on countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Albania, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and Serbia than on the states of the first group. Besides, given its present policies, it is not at all certain whether Slovakia will keep its position even among those states.

Hence, the first fatal error of Vladimir Meciar puts Slovakia at a permanent disadvantage in terms of its international position on the EU and NATO "market" and, in the final analysis, leads to Slovakia's deteriorating international position.

The second fatal error of Vladimir Meciar rests in the assumption that it is still possible, in the same way as under communism, to pursue two different policies—one inside the state and one externally. If Vladimir Meciar believes that his latest replies [on 26 June to questions from Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly deputies] in Strasbourg were convincing, he is drowning in vain illusions. The real replies about Slovakia can be found today by foreign observers and political partners in Slovakia itself.

Meciar's policy, which is based not on the active enactment of democracy, but on absolutely inevitable and minimal concessions, adopted always at the last moment and under enormous pressure from the EU, NATO, and the United States, is backfiring in two ways. On the one hand, it puts Slovakia into the position of a state that is vacillating along the border between an autocratic and a democratic regime. Besides, however, it forces Vladimir Meciar to make concessions anyway, concessions he does not wish and does not want, so that, in the end, he is not able to fully realize his power interests and aspirations either. It is the policy of a snake devouring its own tail.

Vladimir Meciar knows that his policy is damaging to Slovakia. But he also knows that a genuinely democratic policy would mean the end of his power. Between the interests of Slovakia and the interests of his power, he prefers the latter, to the detriment of Slovakia as a whole.

Slovakia: Minority Demands Mean Country's 'Life and Death'

AU107151396 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 10 Jul 96 p 1

[Commentary by Chief Editor Jan Smolec; from the "Public Matter" editorial column]

[FBIS Translated Text] The two documents we are publishing in the newspaper today [11-point "Joint Statement by Participants in the Conference Hungary and Hungarians Living Beyond the Borders," issued in Budapest on 5 July, and the Slovak Government's reaction to it, covered by referent items] affect, in a way, the life and death of the Slovak state. In the joint statement issued by Hungarians living in Hungary and abroad, we can read how they scoff at Slovak tolerance of them and at the good conditions enjoyed by the Hungarian minority in our country. They want autonomy!

The Meciar government's statement is a vigorous w[illegible]ing that putting forward similar demands would be [illegible]y dangerous and unacceptable to the Slovak nation. We are in for an unfair intervention from our neighbor. The Hungarian Government, hiding behind its internal problems, has given in to radicals. After Kuhn's bolsheviks and Horthy's fascists, we are now threatened by Horn's extremists and chauvinists. Mr. Horn aspires to be the boss of all Hungarians worldwide.

History is repeating itself. Before World War II, [Sudeten German leader Konrad] Henlein was raising similar demands against the then Czechoslovakia. When someone calls today for collective rights and ethnic borders, he is calling for ethnic unrest, the cases of which have always had a bloody ending.

If—God forbid—the Durayites [followers of Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray] proclaimed autonomy, what would happen to the 1 million Slovaks in southern Slovakia? The Durayites would most probably repeat what Horthy's fascists did after their occupation of this part of Slovakia and what Hungarian communists did after the end of World War II. Today, Hungary's minorities are buried in its cemeteries.

It is evident that Hungary is coordinating its steps toward autonomy with some states. Otherwise it would not have the courage to infringe upon the sovereignty of Slovakia and demand the secession [odstepenie] of a part of our sovereign state.

It is incredible that the call for autonomy was endorsed by five deputies of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, despite their oath to the Slovak Constitution, which clearly states in Article 3 that the territory of

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the Slovak Republic is indivisible. We must carefully monitor what role the Hungarian minority parties want to play after this statement. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar yesterday commented on the irredentist efforts as follows: "They are forgetting that after 1,000 years of bowing, we now stand upright and our backs are stronger. We will not allow autonomy! I am confident that the struggle for identity will unite Slovaks."

Slovakia: Commentary Views Hungarian Minority Rights

AU1007132396 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Jul 96 p 1

[Commentary by Jergus Ferko in the "Public Matter" editorial column]

[FBIS Translated Text] The voice of Hungarian dissatisfaction with the arrangement of Central Europe has again been raised across the Danube. Representatives of the government, parliament, and the Hungarian minorities have declared unanimously that "self-administration, the establishment of autonomy in harmony with extant European practice and the spirit of international norms is a fundamental issue for preserving the identity of Hungarians living beyond the borders and for their preservation in the country of their birth."

Budapest has again made clear the extraordinary manner in which it interprets the basic interstate Slovak-Hungarian treaty, in which there is no reference to autonomy. The long-term organized hysterical cabaret surrounding the rights of the Hungarian minorities would have been farcical long ago if its possible repercussions were not so dangerous. Namely, the West corroborates the diplomatic and propagandistic drum beating about this issue in two erroneous views: That the majority is automatically responsible for all minority problems and that whoever shouts more persistently and loudly is right. Slovaks from southern Slovakia, who are justifiably concerned about possible Hungarian autonomy, should draw attention to themselves more energetically, especially on the international scene, where many politicians think that only Hungarians live in our south. Those Slovak Hungarians who are already sick and tired of playing the role of the old maid in this dubious game could also make themselves heard.

Given the current situation in Europe, Budapest does not have much chance of promoting its dream of autonomy. On the contrary, if it wants to win the trust of its neighbors, it has to refrain from constantly turning up the heat under the minority soup by making unfounded demands. The "preservation of identity" is not endangered by anything in our country and, if our Hungarian minority survived the years of socialism in all its vigor (and numbers), it is not clear why it should be endangered under democracy. If anyone needs help and protection, then obviously it is the Hungarians in Hungary, where the number of inhabitants has fallen by more than 300,000 over the past 10 years.

Slovakia: FNM Chief on Background to Privatization

AU1007142596 Bratislava SME in Slovak 8 Jul 96 p 4

[Report by Robert Zitnansky on interview with Stefan Gavornik, president of the FNM Presidium; place and date of interview not given: "Stefan Gavornik: The Cemeteries Are Full of Heroes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After Stefan Gavornik, president of the National property Fund [FNM] Presidium and deputy chairman of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS], had replied in parliament to deputies' objections to the FNM's activities, he also replied to some questions from SME's editors.

It Is a Matter of Political Agreement

Many objections to the method of privatization, as well as outright accusations, have emerged over the last two years. According to Stefan Gavornik, however, "no one has accused the FNM of unlawful activity, so there is nothing to which I can react." Stefan Gavornik also has an explanation for the doubts regarding the objectivity of the selection procedure in privatization decisions: "When the sale of property on such a scale is involved, doubts can always arise. It is necessary to furnish evidence, however. I cannot base my actions on doubts. I need evidence. If someone has it, let him submit it to me. If he does not have it, it is all on the level of rhetoric." The president of the FNM Presidium admitted, however, the politicizing of the Fund's decisions when he said: "What will be privatized is a matter of political agreement. The Presidium then only implements privatization." Asked whether it is also a matter of political agreement in whose favor the privatization decision is made, Stefan Gavornik said: "It is as I have already told you: There is a political agreement. But it cannot be generalized. Certain steps of a political nature follow up on it (the decision)." Last week Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said that politicization of the FNM's activity would be ruinous for the Fund. For Stefan Gavornik, "This is a rather complicated question. The FNM and all its bodies are constituted on the basis of political agreements. Having said that, I have said everything, I think."

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The Privatization of Financial Institutions

The FNM is the owner of 50.6 percent of shares in Slovenska Poistovna [Slovak Insurance Company]. The personnel changes in the Slovenska Poistovna bodies were pushed through by Milan Rehak, chairman of the FNM Executive Committee and chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] District Presidium in Trencin. The reaction by the ZRS and the Slovak National Party [SNS] to the personnel changes confirmed the links between the dismissed members of the Slovenska Poistovna board of directors and these two political entities. Stefan Gavornik said at that time that, by its decisions in the FNM, the HZDS was assigning to its coalition partners the role of extras. "Yes, what I said at the time is still valid. As far as Slovenska Poistovna is concerned, I have nothing to change," Stefan Gavornik added.

At their last meeting, National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] deputies approved an amendment to the law on state interests in the privatization of strategic state companies and shareholding companies. According to those who submitted the amendment, its aim was to exclude major financial institutions from privatization. "I think that it is possible to sell Slovenska Poistovna shares; the amendment does not prevent that. But I do not believe that they will be sold until March. That they will not be sold is a matter of political agreement. Yet it is possible to sell them. As long as I am president, I will not put such an item—the sale of any bank shares—on the meeting's agenda." Nevertheless, Stefan Gavornik added, "it is possible to privatize Investicna a Rozvojova Banka [Investment and Development Bank] without problems and Slovenska Poistovna could be privatized without any major problems. As for Vseobecna Uverova Banka [General Credit Bank], its privatization hinges on agreement regarding its stake in [the Czech] Komercni Banka [Commercial Bank], while Slovenska Sporitelna [Slovak Savings Bank] definitely cannot be privatized."

It Is the Result of Elections

The recent Slovenska Poistovna affair revealed a great deal about the background to privatization in the FNM. In the interview, Gavornik attempted to throw light on it: "I have been president of the FNM Presidium for 21 months. If I were to write my memoirs, you would find in them all kinds of things. Let me stress, however, that I am not going to write them, because I surely would not live to see them completed. They [not further specified] are able to bring all kinds of pressures to bear on people. Democracy is only being born here and we cannot pretend that such pressures do not exist." Until recently, it was only the opposition that criticized the composition of the FNM Presidium (six members from the HZDS, two from the ZRS, and one from the SNS). "In the FNM Presidium, I try to persuade the others by the strength of arguments; they express their opinion democratically by a vote. Unfortunately, there is nothing that I can change about this; such is the state of politics in Slovakia, which is the result of elections. When I am extremely dissatisfied, I do not put the item in question on the meeting's agenda. This happened in the case of the Piestany spa when I withdrew the item from the agenda and did not permit a vote to be taken on it. But that is no solution, either, because I should not be able to afford to do this. Nothing authorizes me to do it, but nonetheless I have done it once."

The Privatization of the Piestany Spa

The FNM Presidium decided to sell 51 percent of Piestany spa shares to the Spolocnost Zamestnancov Piestanskych Kupelov [Piestany Spa Employees Association; SZPK] joint stock company. Even prior to this decision, the Supreme Inspection Office [NKU] was investigating the founding and activity of this company and initiated criminal proceedings because of the suspicion of a number of unlawful activities. In spite of this, the FNM Presidium decided on a sale in its favor. "Piestany is a complicated issue. I do not know those buyers. But if the buyers' criminal activity is established, the FNM Presidium can change its decision. That is not what only I say, but what the law says. Should facts come to light that were not known at the time the decision on privatization was made, we can, of course, change the decision. There is no need to doubt that it can be done," Gavornik explained. Asked whether he considered it more reasonable not to privatize at all when suspicions against the buyer exist, Gavornik said: "The FNM does not have to take suspicions into consideration; that is the job of the General Prosecutor's Office and criminal prosecution bodies. We were able to privatize; the law makes that possible. Besides, the Presidium is a democratic body. It has nine members, eight of whom were present. Of those, five were in favor [of selling the Piestany spa to the SZPK], three against. Such is democracy and democracy is what we wanted here, did we not? The HZDS has six people, the ZRS two, and the SNS one. The number of votes supporting the decision reflects the political composition of the Presidium." The president of the FNM Presidium also explained why he did not postpone this sale: "Even before the decision, I received a letter signed by the president of the Police Corps that those findings [about the SZPK's unlawful activities] are unsubstantiated. My hands were untied. It was only later that a letter from the prosecutor general arrived stating that the investigation was continuing."

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Unacceptable for the Prime Minister

After the recent coalition row, Vladimir Meciar declared that SNS Chairman Jan Slota was unacceptable to him and that Stefan Gavornik was completely unacceptable. "You should ask the prime minister whether I am unacceptable to him. I do not have the slightest doubt that [ZRS] party bodies support me. And I do not know why they should not support me. Of course, the prime minister has his views. I, too, have my own views on all kinds of things. Now there is no time to examine in detail which of our views differ. Some time ago the government called on me to speed up privatization. I am not the one who is slowing it down. I do not have on my desk a single document. More than 100 privatization projects are ready in the Executive Committee, but no one has submitted them to me at the Presidium, although I have been demanding them. Whether or not I will be FNM president will be decided by parliament. The party leadership, too, can tell me: Gavornik, your presidency is over. The party leadership supports me. I have had some health problems so I, too, may reconsider remaining in this post."

My Conscience Is Clear

Asked how he explained to his ZRS voters his responsibility for the method of privatization, Gavornik said: "I am upright. I was upright when I joined the FNM and I will be the same when I leave it. I am not going to bend my backbone. A car can knock me down, someone can push me into a ditch, but no one can break me; I will not let anyone break me. I think, however, that the cemeteries are full of heroes and I am just a normal human being." In conclusion, Gavornik explained how he defended the ZRS's role in the present government coalition: "I keep saying that we (the ZRS) can jump only as high as allowed by our 12 votes in parliament. As far as control of privatization is concerned, I have always said that it is literally my wish that the FNM's activity be subjected to control. I also want the opposition to be represented on FNM bodies, because I do not perceive a single person in parliament as a personal enemy. I want to have a clear conscience and I think that I do. All kinds of people belittle this, depending on who writes about me. You, journalists, are a complicated category."

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B-H: Hebib, U.S. Ambassador Discuss Press Reports

AU1007191396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In response to reports in THE WASHINGTON POST that foreign troops from Arab countries are in Bosnia-Herzegovina and perpetrating various incidents, especially in the Zenica-Doboj Canton, John Menzies, U.S. ambassador to our country, today visited the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He was received by Minister Avdo Hebib. The visit follows firm assurances by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that police will investigate all the reports mentioned in the reputable U.S. paper.

Judging from a lengthy report by Minister Hebib, it is evident that the public has not been told the whole truth about the alleged forced marriages, abductions, and occupations of houses and apartments by foreign citizens, mainly from Arab countries, in order to obtain illegally Bosnian citizenship.

Mr. Menzies was presented with concrete evidence refuting allegations about the presence of foreign troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, allegedly Mujahidin, who are also supposedly the perpetrators of the criminal acts THE WASHINGTON POST wrote about.

As the police investigation has established, some crimes and misdemeanors have been committed. However, the perpetrators are, in fact, citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, against whom the relevant judicial bodies have already filed charges.

During the talks, Minister Hebib also stressed that fears about the alleged presence of Mujahidin were unfounded and that the members of the Zenica Security Center have been very successfully performing their duties as stipulated by law, thus protecting the safety of citizens and their property. Minister Avdo Hebib also presented precise information on the presence of foreigners in that area, briefing the prominent guest on the strict procedures and criteria for obtaining Bosnian citizenship.

No one can become a citizen of Bosnia-Herzegovina by force, as there are legal, legitimate means of accomplishing this. We will make sure this happens, Minister Hebib said resolutely.

Ambassador Menzies expressed his satisfaction with the work and efficiency of the Zenica Security Center and the information shown to him, stressing that such work by the police and today's talks, together with the presentation of all the relevant facts, represent the right way to solve problems. This is also the right way to establish citizens' trust in the police and to remove obstacles to U.S. Government assistance to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, Ambassador Menzies stressed.

Mr. Menzies also initiated a mixed commission to solve problems in implementing the Dayton agreement, which was discussed again today. The commission would be made up of representatives of IFOR [Implementation Force], IPTF [International Police Task Force], the federation's Ministry of Internal Affairs, and other ministries.

B-H: Muratovic Notes Talks With Kantor Delegation

AU1007151796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jul 96

[Report by Senada Cumurovic on a joint news conference by Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic and Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic in Sarajevo on 10 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic said that a U.S. delegation, which consists of the representatives of 18 major U.S. firms headed by Trade Secretary Mickey Kantor, will meet the representatives of the Governments of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in Dubrovnik, These talks should result in the signing of the following agreements:

[Muratovic] We expect to sign two memorandums in Dubrovnik. One is on the commercial [words indistinct] the United States in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, and the other will be on the Croatian-Bosnian paths to peace and the development of the port of Ploce, which is the name of that memorandum of understanding. The Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Government of the Republic of Croatia will hold special talks in Dubrovnik. We expect to sign two agreements. One is in fact an annex to the agreement on visas, and the other is the agreement on cooperation in water management. The first agreement should regulate issues that had not been solved adequately (?in the earlier agreement). This essentially refers to the unobstructed transit through Croatia for all our citizens who have permanent residence abroad.

[Cumurovic] After Dubrovnik, [word indistinct] the delegation will come to Sarajevo where they will meet the representatives of the Governments of the Republic and the Federation and the Economic Chamber of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At today's news conference, Muratovic also mentioned some of his objections regarding the preparations for elections abroad, above all in Germany, and these

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objections were the reason he asked the OSCE to change the deadlines. It is already clear now that there will be problems with postal voting. It has been proposed that those citizens who are not able to vote in this way be enabled to vote in the usual way after the elections.

The third topic addressed by Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic was the issue of Slovene visas. Having said that the Republic of Slovenia has been constantly supporting Bosnia-Herzegovina, Muratovic added:

[Muratovic] We take the view that Slovenia has introduced visas in the wrong way. It should have made an agreement with us on the regime of visas, which is the usual practice between two states, and not to inform us suddenly about it with a note on the date when it will introduce visas.

The introduction of visas inflicts enormous damage on us. We expect tens of thousand of people to come to vote in the elections. Moreover, this move also increases our balance of payments deficit with Slovenia. We have an enormous balance of payments deficit with Slovenia. The introduction of visas would add another million German marks, or more, a month to this deficit.

[Cumurovic] Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic spoke about important diplomatic meetings that have taken place recently, especially at the 64th ministerial meeting of the Organization of African Unity.

Having stressed that this was an opportunity to brief the representatives of that organization on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Prlic also mentioned specific diplomatic results.

[Prlic] We have agreed to sign agreements on establishing diplomatic relations with seven, that is eight, new African countries. This would increase the total number of African countries with which Bosnia-Herzegovina has diplomatic relations to 30. [passage omitted]

B-H: Article Says Army 5th Corps 'Growing Rapidly'

AU1107114496 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 96 p 11

[Article by Mario Galic: "All of Bihac Has Become the Barracks of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The arrival of IFOR [Implementation Force] in Bosnia-Herzegovina finally stopped the war in that practically divided state. This first long peaceful period since 1992 is being used by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to expedite the modernization and reorganization of its units. A sort of reform of the Muslim army also includes reducing the number of troops of all corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, or, rather, nearly all of them.

Because, of all the corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, one has been growing rapidly. It is called the 5th Corps, and its seat is in Bihac. During the war, and particularly in the course of 1995, this corps endured the greatest pressure of the paramilitary Serb forces from Croatia and Bosnia. In that time, it had between 2,000 and 2,500 soldiers. Today, it has more than 6,000. Semi-official sources in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army interpret this strange growth in a very acceptable way, as a sort of social assistance for the Bihac region. Namely, from the end of last year, when the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina was stopped, until today, the economic potential of the most western part of Bosnia has been used very little. Practically all industrial capacities are at a standstill. That is why there is growing pressure on the Bosnian army to mobilize the capable men, and thus secure the minimum conditions for the life of their families. In the Bihac region, health protection is not functioning in a form that would satisfy the needs of the local population (there are not enough doctors or medicine).

Alarm in Sarajevo

All that has influenced the 5th Corps to make up for all the inadequacies that the authorities from Sarajevo have not been capable of solving, or have been slow to solve, through its own action. Bearing all that in mind, that explanation for the increase of the number of soldiers could be accepted, if it were not for another alarming fact.

Lately, the 5th Corps has been rapidly filling up with forces which have no territorial connections with Bihac and its surroundings. Moreover, 3,500 professional soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army who have joined the 5th Corps recently were, until then, active in areas around Tuzla and Zenica, that is, within the scope of action of the 2d and 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army! Besides, around 2,000 regular soldiers came to the 5th Corps after they finished their training at the center in Zenica. From talking to the officers of the 5th Corps in the units of whom these soldiers are distributed, we discovered that the basic part of the training in Zenica is carried out by foreign citizens who should have left the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina a long time ago. Instead, today, they introduce young soldiers to the basics of the Islamic religion, and also, unavoidably, to fundamentalism.

One can only make guesses at the real reasons for the arrival of so many soldiers from central and eastern

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Bosnia, because none of the 5th Corps officer with whom we talked wanted to comment on it. There is no doubt that the process of the militarization of the Bihac region has been going on rapidly, and the only question is what its final goal is. One reason for such course of events could be closely linked to the upcoming elections. During the latest visit of Alija Izetbegovic to this region, the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] leadership was not very pleased with the support of the local population. In order to improve the chances for his election victory in the Bihac region, Izetbegovic is now sending thousands of soldiers there, with their families, who all support the SDA unconditionally. He thinks that, in this way, he can guarantee election success. The attempted assassination of Fikret Abdic, but also the recent brutal attack on Haris Silajdzic [former prime minister and leader of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina], shows that Izetbegovic is afraid of the election results in that part of western Bosnia.

The Isolation of Bihac

Another reason could be far deeper and much more far-reaching. The Bihac region is almost completely oriented towards Croatia, and the war only strengthened those ties. Such a close relationship does not suit Sarajevo, so, through the militarization of the region, it is trying to provoke the closure of the region towards Croatia and a stronger orientation towards Sarajevo. In that way, this space would once again be under complete isolation, only a few months after it got rid of the long Serb siege. That would explain the kind of state strategy of piling the "imported army" onto the territory of the most western Muslim point in Europe, where religion was not the most important part of life in the past. In that way, Bihac would once again become an enclave, and, through that, would face real isolation and an economic recession.

The third reason could be an exclusively military one. If the implementation of the Dayton Agreement fails, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army wants to ensure the military option for the solution of the Bosnian problems. [passage omitted]

B-H: Poll Assesses Concern About New Outbreak of War

AU0407180596

[FBIS Report] Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian on 25 June on page 6 carries an approximately 500-word report by Muhamed Muhic on the results of an opinion poll on whether the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina are worried about a new war.

The report, entitled "Fear of a New War," does not provide any information on the size of the sample, nor when and how the poll was carried out. The results of the poll are presented in two tables and expressed in percentages as follows:

Are you worried that a war could break out again in a few years?

	Bosnian Serbs		Bosnian Croats		Bosniaks	
	Dec 95	Apr 96	Dec 95	Apr 96	Dec 95	Apr 96
Very worried	76	55	23	33	17	40
Fairly worried	15	36	39	49	51	41
TOTAL	91	91	62	82	68	81

When could the new war start?

	Bosnian Serbs		Bosnian Croats		Bosniaks	
	Dec 95	Apr 96	Dec 95	Apr 96	Dec 95	Apr 96
In a few months	24	19	19	11	10	4
Shortly after the departure of IFOR (Implementation Force)	39	44	28	53	30	46

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B-H: OSCE Announces Possibility of Separate Elections

AU1007192696 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 10 Jul (BETA)—Kenneth Scott, representative of the OSCE Provisional Election Commission in Bosnia, said today that there was a possibility that the elections for the local and municipal bodies of authority could be held separately from the entity elections and elections for the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The decision on that will be made soon," Scott said at a news conference in Banja Luka, where the Consultative Committee of political parties was held earlier. This body consists of representatives of all political parties of both entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He rejected the possibility of a postponement of the 14 September elections in Bosnia.

B-H: Officials Comment on Voter Registration

AU1007094596 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jul 96 p 5

[Unattributed report: "3,522,306 Citizens Have the Right To Vote"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Each Bosnia-Herzegovina citizen must check the electoral roll by 19 July and state whether he wishes to vote in the 1991 place of abode or in the place of his current residence, Mirko Boskovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation representative in the Provisional Electoral Commission (PEC), stated while visiting the computer center of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Statistical Institute, ONASA reports.

If a citizen elects to vote in the 1991 place of abode, he will have the choice to either vote in person or by post, but if he wishes to vote in the new place of abode, he will only be able to vote in person. Through the computer network, OSCE has dispatched electoral rolls to the countries of Europe, America, and Australia.

As John Ried, member of the Provisional Electoral Commission, said, the host countries have already started sending information on the voting options to the Bosnia-Herzegovina refugees. In some countries, Bosnia-Herzegovina refugees will be able to vote by post and, in others, in person.

As Hasan Zolic, director of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Statistics Institute, announced, 3,522,306 Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens have the right to vote according to the 1991 census. The institute is currently processing data on the citizens who wish to vote in the changed places of abode. By Monday afternoon, 50,000 P2 forms had arrived, mostly from the residents of the territory of the Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: Roundtable of 14 Parties on Election Conditions

AU0907125796 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1032 GMT 9 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 9 July (BETA)—The presentation of the parties that are taking part in the 14 September elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina is starting on the program of the Serbian Radio and Television in Banja Luka today—the Party of Democratic Action will be the first to introduce itself on the radio and the Party of Women of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be the first on the television.

The first roundtable discussion on whether the conditions for the Bosnia-Herzegovina elections have been met took place in the studios in Banja Luka and Pale last night. Of 24 parties invited that were registered in the Serb Republic, the representatives of 14 parties took part in the program; four of them were from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

The participants in the program concluded that the conditions for the democratic elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina have not been met, however, they emphasized that they would take part in the elections to honor the Dayton accord and stabilize the situation on the ground.

The registration of voters, which is hampered by the shortage of registration forms and the incomplete lists of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, poses a special problem, and the participants in the program proposed that the deadline for the registration of voters be extended until 19 July.

The representatives of the following parties from the Serb Republic took part in the program: the Serbian Democratic Party, the Serbian Radical Party, the Party of Serbian Unity, the Democratic Patriotic Front, the Democratic Party of Federalists, the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic, the Serbian Patriotic Party, the Serbian Party of Krajina, the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, and the Peoples' Party of the Serb Republic.

From the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, the representatives of the United List, the Social Democratic Party, the Muslim-Bosniak Organization, the Croatian Peoples' Party, and the Union of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats participated.

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B-H: Report Analyzes Election Roundtable

AU1007145296 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 96 p 5

[Article by Senka Kurtovic: "After September—The State of RS"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The broadcast entitled Elections '96 shown on Serb television and radio on Monday evening [8 July], that is, the Pale and the Banja Luka studios simultaneously, featured for the first time, in addition to representatives of parties from the Serb entity, some representatives of parties from the Federation. Those were Karlo Filipovic (Social Democratic Party), Fuad Sarkic (Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO]), Zeljko Ivankovic (Croatian Peasants' Party) and Igor Rajner (Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats).

Ratko Adzic and Dragutin Mirovic of the Democratic Patriotic Bloc sat around the same table, as well as Ljiljana Peric, deputy chairwoman of the Party of Serbian Unity, Miodrag Rakic of the Serbian Radical Party, Aleksa Buha, deputy chairman of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS], and Dragan Djokanovic of the Democratic Party of Federalists. In Banja Luka, there were also Zeljko Mirjanic, secretary general of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic, Slavko Zupljanin, chairman of the Serb Patriotic Party of Salvation, Predrag Lazarevic, chairman of the Serb Party of Krajina, and Mico Carevic, chairman of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia. Radoslav Brdjanin, the former SDS protege and now chairman of the National Party of the Serb Republic, turned up in the studio somewhat later.

The efficient and always poorly informed moderator Marica Lalovic set a task for her guests: to think about whether conditions for staging the elections have been created and how the voting should be carried out. In setting this difficult task, the moderator was assisted by members of the Serb Republic's provisional electoral commission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, namely Slobodan Kovac and Radivoje Duvnjak.

The political parties from the Serb Republic, to judge from assessments made by their representatives, favor the elections, although, in their opinion, the conditions for staging them have not yet been created. However, despite this, the elections must be held, because after them the Serb Republic will be legalized and legitimized as a state (according to Rakic), the Serb people will be treated equally after the September elections (Mirovic claims), the elections will efficiently protect the Serb Republic and the interest of the Serb people (according to Adzic), the Serb Republic will become a state (according to Lazarevic).... Obviously, the Dayton accord is being interpreted in the Serb Republic in a somewhat different way.

The Federation's representatives presented their well known attitude: There are no conditions yet, but the elections nevertheless ought to be held. Nobody mentioned the issue of war crimes, which is the main reason why the process of creating the conditions is developing very slowly. There was also little talk about freedom of movement, to which Ivankovic referred as "impassability in certain parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Nor were we able to find out what has happened to Radio-Television SIM (Semberija and Majevica), which was recently, in an illegal manner, placed under the control of the SDS. Adzic tried on several occasions to explain that opposition parties cannot talk about democracy as long as the media are controlled by one party.

"The ruling party controls the media—so what? We did not invent this," Mirjanic reassured his colleague. And the story ended there and then.

In any case, what was supposed to be the least interesting part, became the actual essence of the entire discussion. Boring messages, such as "What needs to be said in the end?" or "Do you have any message for the voters?" revealed the real face of the Serb Republic's democrats. Some of them advised voters to be more clever this time than in 1991, while others called on them to start a new war and support divisions.

"Vote to make it possible for the nationalist option to win," Rakic said.

"This time the Serb people can choose between three options: to strengthen its position in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to separate from Serbia and Montenegro, or to link up with Serbia and Montenegro. Vote for whichever option you feel is the best," Djokanovic said.

"The division must be a reality. The West and the international community want to restore Yugoslavia. This is a warning to the Serb people," Lazarevic said.

"I hope that citizens will vote for the honest and trustworthy ones. Dishonest people cannot be patriots. Let Mostar be a warning to you. The Serbs must not waste their votes supporting non-national parties," Brdjanin thundered at the end.

The broadcast ended 10 or so minutes before 2300. As Lalovic put it, "the representatives of the Federation have to go home, because a curfew is still in force there." Sarkic of the MBO thanked the hosts for the

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warm reception. Primarily Lazarevic, and then also Brdjanin and Mirjanic, reiterated that they would not go to Sarajevo though actually there is no reason why they should, because, as far as they are concerned, the Dayton Bosnia will come about only after the elections. Until then, they say, they do not feel they have any obligations!

B-H: BETA Views Parties' Chances in Elections

AU1107112496 Belgrade BETA in English 4-11 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] If the political balance of forces within the national corps of the Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslims does not significantly change over the next two months, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Kresimir Zubak, and Bosnian Serb Parliament Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik will be sitting in the future joint Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina (B-H). These are political figures who will attempt to maintain the continuity of the hitherto policies of the national corps they belong to.

Two of them—Izetbegovic and Zubak—are officially the leaders of hard-line nationalist streams, while Krajisnik is considered to be the man who "behind the scene" leads the hardline Bosnian Serb nationalist stream. The ruling parties obviously did not want to risk the election of someone into the future highest central body of power who might give in to the other two sides.

As things now stand, a true miracle would be needed for someone else, instead of these three candidates of the ruling parties, to be elected for the joint Presidency of B-H. Izetbegovic is an undisputed leader for whom the majority of Muslims will vote, while Zubak, among the Bosnian Croats, practically does not even have a rival. Krajisnik cannot be described as a popular leader, but has a reputation among the Bosnian Serbs of being uncompromising, which is the best recommendation for a candidate for the central Bosnian authorities.

Relations Within the Entities

As things now stand, the candidates of the ruling parties, also stand the best chance at the forthcoming elections within the two entities. The SDA [Party of Democratic Action] forwarded almost 5,000 candidates for the municipal, cantonal, and republican bodies in both of the entities. The Vice-President of the Federation of B-H, Ejup Ganic, will head the SDA's list of candidates for the future Parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ganic is known as an exponent of the party's hardline stream.

The SDA's list of candidates for the parliament of the Federation of B-H, which will be comprised of Bosnian Muslim and Croat MPs, is headed by the current Bosnian Premier Hasan Muratovic. The parliament is due to elect the president and vice president of the Federation.

The list of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina of former Bosnian prime minister Haris Silajdzic, which is the strongest opposition party in the Federation, is headed by Silajdzic himself. This party has also forwarded candidates for the elections in the Republic of Srpska (RS) [Serb Republic].

The third serious rival in the future elections in the Federation is The Joint List for Bosnia comprised of five opposition parties—The Union of Bosnian-Herzegovina Social-Democrats (UBSD), The Social-Democratic Party (SDP), The Muslim-Bosnian Organization (MBO), the Republican Party, and the Croatian Farmers Party.

This coalition has also forwarded candidates for the entire country, namely, candidates who will also run in the election in the RS [Serb Republic]. It has selected two candidates for the joint Bosnian Presidency—Ivo Komsic, the leader of the Croatian Farmers Party, and Sead Avdic from the Social-Democratic Party.

The list for the parliament of the Federation of B-H is lead by the president of UBSD and Mayor of Tuzla Selim Beslagic, while the list for the parliament of B-H is headed by the vice president of the UBSD Sejfudin Tokic. Prominent politicians of pre-war Bosnia such as member of the former presidency of ex-Yugoslavia Bogic Bogicevic and former senior Bosnian politician Zdravko Grebo are also the coalition's candidates for the elections.

Neither Silajdzic's Party for Bosnia, nor the Joint List have much chance of seriously threatening the ruling SDA or the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] in the elections. At the elections in Mostar, which were some form of test for the September general elections in Bosnia, the Joint List got only three percent of the vote. Had Silajdzic's party and the Joint List created a joint front for the elections they would have stood somewhat of a better chance, but, would have, nevertheless been far from victory. Beslagic's UBSD stands some chances of an election victory, but only in the town of Tuzla, not in the Tuzla canton, where SDA has supremacy.

Republic of Srpska

The situation is similar in the RS, where the ruling SDS [Serb Democratic Party] has launched an election offensive and has suppressed the, anyhow, incompact and unorganized opposition. Bosnian Serb sources say that Belgrade, on several occasions, demanded that the

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two big opposition blocs—The Alliance for Peace and Progress (SMP), led by the Socialist Party of the RS, and the Democratic Patriotic Bloc (DPB) of Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radic—unite and forward a joint list of candidates opposed to the ruling SDS.

Namely, Belgrade desired that Radic be the joint candidate for the president of the RS, but an agreement on this was not reached. Thus, two separate lists remained—one led by the leader of the RS Socialists Zivko Radisic and the other by Radic. Analysts of the political situation in the RS gave Radisic and Radic certain chances of a victory in Banja Luka on condition that they create a joint front. Now everyone agrees that the SDS is the absolute favorite and that the two separate blocs will receive much less of the vote than they expect.

The Alliance for Peace and The Democratic Patriotic Bloc have a joint candidate for the Presidency of B-H—professor at the Banja Luka Economic Faculty Mladen Ivancic. He is reputed as a exceptional expert in his field and as a man of a moderate national orientation. However, he is far less popular than his rival Momcilo Krajisnik.

Radisic and Radic are to run against the SDS's presidential candidate and current acting president of the RS Biljana Plavsic. Plavsic's current post will provide her with far more media exposure that her election rivals.

Besides, since the president of the RS Radovan Karadzic was compelled to transfer his authority to Plavsic, she has become a significant factor of continuity of Bosnian Serb political authority. This could be a decisive factor at the forthcoming elections since the Bosnian Serb electorate will opt for those who will guarantee them that their home towns will remain under the authority of the nation they belong to. So far, the harsh Bosnian reality has shown that that is the only precondition for a minimum of safety. Also, the exponents of nationalistic orientations constantly underline the dangers of other alternatives.

The international community, of course, desires the victory or, at least, the strengthening of civic oriented or moderate national parties, but prospects for that are practically nil. Such parties have neither the means, nor the facilities, nor the time for a true media campaign.

B-H: Serb Parties Reluctant To Run in Federation

AU1007191296 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 96 p 3

[Unattributed commentary: "Serb Ideological Pen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The final decision on the number of parties running in the elections and the validity of their lists of candidates at the level of cantons and municipalities will be made by the OSCE and its Provisional Election Commission in the next few days.

In party circles, rumors are circulating that not a single party from the Serb entity has registered for the elections at any level in the Federation. If OSCE representatives confirm this officially, it seems that neither the public nor Bosnian or foreign political factors will be too surprised at the Serb parties' giving up the struggle for power in the Federation.

The current structure of political forces in the Serb Republic is such that there is almost no discord on the question of reintegration, which should start after the elections. All the parties, whether they support the government or are in opposition, hold the view that the Serb entity is the only area where they should operate and for which they should compete. For the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation, there is no room in their political platforms.

Some endemic cases, like that of the chairman of the Social Liberal Party of the Serb Republic, Miodrag Zivanovic, who stresses that Bosnia-Herzegovina is the state where they live, do not mean much more than mere approval of the Dayton accords. In an active political sense, even the parties that severely criticize the domestic policy of the SDS [Serb Democratic Party] (for instance, the Alliance for Peace and Progress coalition, rallying socialists, liberals, independent democrats and the extreme left wing) do not show much interest in confronting the ruling party's fascist and separatist policy.

On the contrary, some of these would-be democratic forces do not differ in any respect from the extreme right parties or those headed by criminals, because they all want to make the Serb entity a satellite state linked to Serbia and Montenegro.

By maintaining such a political frame of mind and excluding the possibility for Bosnia-Herzegovina to become a theater where in the future political battles will be fought between progressive and anachronistic political platforms in the Serb entity those parties are obviously closing doors on democratic changes.

Enclosed in their national pens, whether deliberately or not, politicians in the Serb entity are additionally reducing the space for parties from the Federation that have put forward candidates at all levels in the Serb Republic.

That is, what the world's developed democratic societies would consider to be political stupidity is a reason for pride and is the prevailing political frame of mind in the Serb entity. Therefore such moves by the Serb parties

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will only show both the international community and election observers even more clearly who is who.

As for internal relations, one can only hope that at least some pluralism and healthy political ideas from the Federation will land on fertile soil among voters in the Serb Republic. The people on the other side of the inter-entity line apparently do not have anything similar to offer the people in the Federation.

B-H: RS Official on Fear of Muslims Obstructing Elections

LD1007194596 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 10 July (SRNA)—Velibor Ostojic, vice president of the Serb Republic in charge of social issues, held talks in Pale today with Venijamin Karakostanoglu,the director of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] regional center in Sokolac, on the forthcoming elections, freedom of movement and territorial delineation.

Commenting on the forthcoming September elections, Ostojic said that "some international players are successfully supplying the Muslim side with extreme motivation to create a more complicated situation with regard to the Dayton Agreement. The aim of the Muslim side is to obstruct the elections, if it cannot postpone them, and to blame the Serb Republic for this."

"Their true aim, instead of elections, is war on territories where it has already raged," Ostojic said, and added:

"I asked Mr. Karakostanoglu to warn all the relevant international players so that this seriously dangerous possibility may be thwarted. We have also said that we should, however, expect better news from today's contact group session in London."

"I reiterated our view that the elections had to be held and that the conditions for them had been met," Ostojic said, adding that he was concerned with the developments, particularly after the meeting in Stockholm and the view put forward by [head of OSCE mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina] Robert Frowick which could bring about a serious situation.

According to Ostojic, the announcement of measures which might be undertaken against the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] was, in effect, putting the holding of elections at risk; obviously this could be the aim of some forces which had motives to continue the war—they were creating an alibi and looking for a culprit in case this happened.

"In connection with the elections and Annexes 3 and 7, I said that the Serb Republic and the Serb people had already compromised to the best of their ability and that there was no room left for further concessions," he said.

The vice president also informed his guest on corrections to the borders in parts of the Serb Republic covered by the OSCE center in Sokolac and on the exchanged towns and villages. [passage omitted]

B-H: Poll: Serbs Expect SDS, HDZ, SDA To Win

AU0507075296 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 96 p 9

[Unattributed report: "SDS, HDZ, SDA Will Also Be There After Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a poll carried out in 10 towns in the Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, "Karadzic's SDS [Serb Democratic Party] enjoys the greatest trust of the electorate. Of those polled, 48.5 percent said they would vote for the SDS, and 17.5 percent said they vote for the Socialists. Seselj's Radicals were in third place with 11 percent of the vote. According to this poll, RS [Serb Republic] President Radovan Karadzic is the most trusted person. He received votes from 30.5 percent of those polled. Only 14 percent took the view that the most trusted person is Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Especially interesting is the fact that Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the parliament in Pale and head of the managing board of Pale Television, enjoys the trust of only 0.5 percent of those polled. The poll clearly shows that the SDS has the most potent stronghold in Pale, as well as in the areas where tensions are still being felt, like the town of Brcko. The most diverse situation is in Banja Luka, where other parties are also gaining in popularity. The greatest number of 'RS' citizens take the view that the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] and the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] will win convincingly in the elections in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation."

B-H: Poll Predicts SDA Election Victory in Tuzla

AU1007170096 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 96 p 9

[Report by M.M.: "SDA Wins in Tuzla?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In its first public appearance, the newly founded independent agency BOSNIA-PRESS conducted a public opinion poll in which the citizens of Tuzla responded to the question: Which party will you vote for in the elections?

Out of 5,368 respondents with the right to vote, 23.43 said they would vote for the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]; 12.57 percent for the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats [UBSD]; and 17.54 percent for the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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How much this agency is to be trusted—it is not known who is behind it, who finances it, and who works in it—is one thing, but the results of the poll are still interesting. A total of 5,368 respondents with the right to vote from 21 Tuzla districts participated in the poll.

According to this agency, the SDA received 23.43 percent of the vote, with the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina lagging behind with 17.54 percent. The former reformists of Selim Beslagic, now the UBSD, are in third place with 12.57 percent. The Social Democratic Party [SDP] follows with 9.76 percent; the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] with 4.88 percent; and the other parties combined with 1.88 percent. A total of 29.58 percent of the respondents said they did not know who they were going to vote for.

The agency also published the results of the poll in some specific districts. The results in the district of Slatina are as follows: SDA, 23.72 percent; Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, 15.30 percent; UBSD, 15.81 percent; SDP, 3.82 percent; HDZ, 1.02 percent; Liberal Party, 1.02 percent; and 39.28 percent responded "don't know."

According to the results of the BOSNIA-PRESS poll, the rural district of Husino will vote as follows: SDA, 6.45 percent; Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, 7.74 percent; UBSD, 0.65 percent; the SDP, 3.23 percent; HDZ, 9.03 percent; while as many as 72.26 percent said they did not know.

It should be said that the population in this district is predominantly of Croat nationality.

B-H: SDA Tuzla Expects To Get 63.2 Percent of Vote

AU1107115196 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 96 p 4

[Article by V. Jahic: "Satisfying Rating"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tuzla—In this region the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] has a satisfying public opinion rating concerning its work, election program and the policy that it represents. In a survey carried out by "Al Hambra" [not further identified] from Tuzla, 92 percent of the people questioned believe that the SDA is not to blame for the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 80.7 believe that Slobodan Milosevic would have attacked Bosnia even if there was no SDA, 70 percent believe that for the Bosniak people no other national party is necessary, for this would only divide the people.

According to the same survey, if elections were to take place now, in the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton the SDA would get 63.2 percent of votes, Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina 16.1, and the UBSD [Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social-Democrats] would be the fifth, with only 1.1 percent of votes. Among politicians, Alija Izetbegovic is doubtlessly first, and has the support of 87.5 percent of the public—according to a statement by Sead Jamakosmanovic, president of the cantonal committee of the SDA in Tuzla, at Thursday's news conference devoted to the election activities of the SDA in the canton.

At the conference it was said that the SDA of Tuzla had started using scientific methods in its action, and that two more surveys on the disposition of public opinion in the canton would be carried out before the elections.

"The Mostar elections are a good indication for the coming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. By giving support to the List for United Mostar, the people expressed their opinion. That was not a national census, as the SDP [Social-Democratic Party] claims, but an expression of the people's will. The elections in the whole of Mostar should not be repeated because of the events at the polling station in Bonn," Sead Jamakosmanovic said, answering journalists' questions.

B-H: Ostojic: RS Unable To Compromise on Elections

AU1007185096 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 10 Jul (BETA)—Velibor Ostojic, deputy prime minister of the Serb Republic, stated today that Serb Republic authorities "have made maximal compromises" over the elections and "no longer have the strength for new compromises."

Ostojic made the statement after meeting with Veniamin Karakostanoglu, head of the regional OSCE office in Sokolac, to whom he conveyed the concerns of the Serb sides sparked by the demand of Robert Frowick, OSCE head in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that the Serb Democratic Party should be barred from taking part in the elections. "Frowick's demands threaten to create a very serious situation," Ostojic said, adding that there is a possibility that, due to such demands, "elections might not be held at all."

According to Ostojic, the talk with Karakostanoglu gave reason to expect "positive news" from today's meeting of the Contact Group in London. Asked whether OSCE will allow all registered parties in the Serb Republic to run in the elections, Karakostanoglu avoided giving a straightforward answer, saying he hoped that the Provisional Electoral Commission, on the basis of the electoral rules, would make a decision in the next few days "that would affirm the Dayton accords and promote peace" in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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B-H: Discussion of Karadzic Ban Profiled

LD1107123296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 11 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 11 Jul (SRNA)—Dr. Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Bosnian Serb Republic and Foreign Minister Dr. Aleksa Buha are having talks in Pale today with Robert Frowick, the head of the OSCE's [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the organization of the forthcoming elections.

It is expected that a special topic will be the threat of Frowick and other international representatives to ban the participation of the Serb Democratic Party in the elections if Dr. Radovan Karadzic remains at its head.

Numerous warnings have been coming in from the media and political circles at home and around the world that such threats are calculated to put fresh pressure on the Serbs, and that if they are realized the holding of the elections themselves could be brought into question.

B-H: UN Spokesman Discusses New Serb 'Senate,' Karadzic

AU1007125096 Paris AFP in English 1240 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 10 (AFP)—The United Nations here is concerned that the newly created Bosnian Serb senate is a ploy by hardline nationalist Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to stay in power, a UN spokesman said Wednesday.

"As long as appointments are not made by an indicted war criminal it is up to the Serbs to figure out how their government works," UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said.

"Our only concern is that this does not become a consultative body for Mr. Karadzic and is not another ploy by Mr. Karadzic to exercise any influence on the political situation in the Republika Srpska [Serb Republic]," he added.

The parliament of the Republika Srpska, the Bosnian Serb entity that together with the Muslim-Croat federation makes up post-war Bosnia, on Tuesday created a senate "as the consultative body to the highest offices in Republika Srpska," Serb media reported.

Karadzic is to chair the body despite being barred from holding public office under the Dayton peace accords, because he has been indicted on war crimes and genocide chages by The Hague-based International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

However, a source close to the Serb authorities said later Tuesday that Karadzic would not in fact head the senate, since the body would not come into being before Bosnia's first post-war general elections set for September 14. As a war crimes suspect Karadzic is also barred from standing for election.

However, the United Nations are unhappy about Karadzic holding any post in the Serb hierarchy, before or after the elections.

"That's a public office and he cannot hold any public office," Ivanko said.

B-H: 'Plavsic's Desire To Demonstrate Authority' Viewed

AU1107095196 Belgrade BETA in English 4-11 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale—On July 8, the acting president of the Republic of Srpska [Serb Republic] (RS) Biljana Plavsic chaired a government session and demanded "special cooperation" with the Ministries of Defense and Justice and the Ministry for Displaced Persons and Refugees. This was her first public gesture in the domain of the interior, since she undertook the presidential function on June 30.

Plavsic's demand for "special cooperation" with the three ministries is an attempt to demonstrate power. Plavsic, in effect, took control of those ministries and required that the ministers answer to her directly.

Well informed sources close to the Bosnian Serb authorities told the BETA agency that premier Gojko Klickovic intended to replace interior minister Dragan Kijac at the July 8 session and install in his place Bozo Kovac, who held that position before Kijac. Plavsic's decision to take control over the three ministries prevented the replacement. The same sources say that this was no serious confrontation but, basically, Plavsic's desire to "demonstrate authority" and directly influence the police, justice and matters regarding displaced persons and refugees.

B-H: Serbs Adopt Law on Election, Dismissal of President

LD0907173296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 9 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] By passing the law on the election and dismissal of the president and vice president, which was adopted unanimously, and with the debate on the implementation of the law on abandoned property, the People's Assembly of the Bosnian Serb Republic concluded today's session in Pale.

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The briefing of the minister for refugees and displaced persons on the implementation of the law on abandoned property attracted special attention from among the deputies and drew a large number of remarks.

Ljubisa Vladusic, the government minister for refugees and displaced persons, stressed that during the war many municipalities achieved good results in the accommodation and care of refugees but since February this year the results were not entirely satisfactory.

He said that throughout the area of the Serb Republic, out of 43,000 demands for accommodation 3,101 were met. According to him, there were 1,165 demands for expulsion while 530 were carried out.

Vladusic appealed to all the relevant authorities to do everything in their power to solve this problem.

[Words indistinct] on the law on abandoned property and propose measures for its more effective implementation.

The next session of the Serb Republic People's Assembly will most probably be held in 15 days.

B-H: Serb Assembly Calls Elections

LD0907162296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 9 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 9 Jul (SRNA)—At its session in Pale today, the Serb Republic People's Assembly adopted a decision to call elections in the Serb Republic.

At the proposal of Serb Republic Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic, the assembly confirmed the decision to appoint Vinko Kondic as minister of labor, employment, and social welfare, and Rajko Papovic as minister of sport.

The assembly also endorsed the appointment of Suzana Tomanic as deputy public prosecutor in Doboj and the replacement of Zeljko Mijatovic as chairman of the municipal court in Prijedor.

The assembly appointed the commission for demarcation in the municipalities of Vlasenica and Milici.

The assembly is currently examining a government report on the implementation of the law on the use of abandoned property.

B-H: Gen Mladic Reportedly Survives Two Strokes

AU1107110796 Belgrade NEDELJNI TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "General Mladic Is Successfully Recovering After Two Strokes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Ratko Mladic, commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army, is successfully recovering from two strokes. The commander of the Serb Republic Army is still under intensive care and strict medical control. He is hooked up to medical instruments and is regularly given medication, NEDELJNI TELEGRAF discovered from sources close to the Serb Republic Army.

"As things stand now, Gen. Mladic is successfully recovering and is momentarily out of critical danger, owing primarily to his exceptional physical stamina," members of the medical team that treated Gen. Mladic, say, refusing to comment further on the health of Gen. Mladic.

Other, albeit unofficial but reliable sources, claim that the health of Gen. Mladic, after his second stroke, was extremely critical. However, ten days after his second stroke, Gen. Mladic is successfully recovering. Even the paralysis of the left side of his body, which was very evident after the second apoplexy, is now receding, and now Gen. Mladic can even move his left arm and leg. However, it is still uncertain how long Gen. Mladic will have to be under the strict medical control of the team of cardiovascular specialists.

B-H: Article Suggests Existence of Mladic 'Double'

AU1107125096 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 96 p 11

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "General's Double"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the departure of Radovan Karadzic, will the international community, the West—that is, the United States—finally leave General Ratko Mladic somewhat in peace or will the pressure on the Bosnian Serb military commander mount over the next few days?

If things go the way the West wants them to, then there are good chances that the general might be forgotten a bit. If this does not happen, that is, if the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina does not prove to be sufficiently quick and go the way the Western strategists planned, then, after Karadzic, all the pressure of the Western democracy will shift on Mladic.

Over the past few days, some media have reported that Gen. Mladic had medical problems and that, because of

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them, he was admitted to the Belgrade Military Medical Academy. Only three days later, Gen. Mladic repudiated all these speculations with his presence in Han Pijesak at the ceremony marking the Serb Republic Army—St. Vitus Day. As we should not doubt the seriousness of the sources that launched the information about the general's illness, it appears that some people saw the general's double entering the hospital and that Gen. Mladic was actually present in Han Pijesak, at least on the basis of voice analysis.

Because he is so busy and needs to be in several places that are often far apart to boost the morale of the troops, soldiers, and the people in the face of everything that a war brings with it, Gen. Mladic's assistants decided to resort to the methods of Winston Churchill during World War II. Churchill had a double, too, so that the Germans could never be sure where the real British prime minister was when he was visiting the soldiers on the front or conducting political talks outside Great Britain.

Gen. Mladic's assistants evidently studied thoroughly the war time activities of the British MI5 and MI6 services and applied them in the Bosnian case. "The confusion" over Gen. Mladic and the alleged "illness" is a consequence of his double's frequent but carefully chosen public appearances. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that some papers were taken in by the military prowess of the Bosnian Serbs.

How the Implementation Force will cope if the number of doubles increase remains to be seen.

B-H: Arkan To Field Candidates in Serb Entity's Elections

AU0807151896 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1201 GMT 8 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 July (BETA)—Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, leader of the Party of Serbian Unity [SSJ] [and Serbian paramilitary leader wanted by INTERPOL for prewar crimes], has said today that the SSJ is a party of the center with a European orientation and has called upon all parties with a similar orientation to unite, whereby they could make "the Serbian dream come true."

"We are for peace, because we know what war is, and we shall be struggling for the reconstruction of the Serb Republic, its stability, and compliance with the Dayton accord," Raznatovic told a news conference in Belgrade.

He aiso said that that the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo were "the richest people in the Balkans" and that they ought to accomplish their goals by political means, rather than by terrorism, which, "if it continues, may lead to war."

Borislav Pelevic, SSJ deputy chairman and spokesman, has pointed out that his party has put forward candidates for the Serb Republic's assembly, for the Presidency and the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as for the local elections in 58 municipalities of the Serb Republic.

Milorad Milakovic, chairman of the Fatherland Party, has stated today that this party has abandoned the Democratic Patriotic Bloc [DPB] of the Serb Republic and joined Raznatovic's SSJ, because the DPB "follows the policy of left-wing forces, rather than that of the center."

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Croatia: U.S. Gen Klein's Visit to Serb Community Noted

AU1007151096 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 96 p 2

[Article by Ml. Jovanovic: "Klein Crosses Himself With Three Fingers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. General Jacques Klein, head of the UN Transitional Administration for the Serb region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, celebrated with the Serbs 7 July, St. John the Baptist's Day, in the St. Archangel Michael Orthodox church in Darda in Baranja. This great holiday of the Serbian Orthodox Church was celebrated with a liturgy.

In the Orthodox church in Darda U.S. General Jacques Klein lit a candle and did something that caught many by surprise: He crossed himself with three fingers just like a true Serb. After the liturgy Klein addressed the Orthodox believers in the church with these words: "You must have your language and tradition. I am here to help you, so you have to help me, too. You deserve a better future, and I will give it to you."

Many believers are in a dilemma: Is Jacques Klein in fact a Serb?

Croatia: Russian Envoy Comments on Mutual Trust in Slavonia

LD0907183096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 9 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Erdut, July 9 (TANJUG)—Special Russian Ambassador for Eastern Slavonija, Baranja and Western Srem, Aleksandr Aksenyonok, said here on Tuesday that mutual trust in this region depends more on Croatia than on the Serb side.

Aksenyonok, who arived in Erdut instead of the earlier announced Russian Ambassador to Zagreb Leonid Kerestedzhiyants, said that confidence-building had been specially negatively affected by Croatia's amnesty law.

'This law failed to help create an atmosphere for the implementation of the Erdut Agreement and the Croatian Government has been informed about the remarks of my country and of other countries so that we expect fundamental changes in this law,' Aksenyonok said.

He said that the reasons why the Erdut Agreement has not been implemented should be sought in the unequal rate of realization of two extremely important processes: the reintegration of the region into Croatia and the securing of internationally recognized human rights and personal and material security for the Serb people living there.

Speaking about the region's autonomy within Croatia, Aksenyonok said that this should be discussed between Belgrade, Zagreb and the local Serb authorities.

The president of the Serb region, Goran Hadzic, said he was 'specially encouraged by the Russian diplomat's position on the need for both processes to be carried out at the same speed.'

Hadzic said that the Serb side had fulfilled all obligations stemming from the Erdut Agreement, which placed the region under international administration early in the year. These obligations included demilitarization and the opening of the highway and railinks, but 'this had little effect,' Hadzic said.

'We are entitled to voice our own political stands clearly and to try to realize them by using all means with the exception of military ones for which, after demilitarization, we are no longer capable,' Hadzic said.

Croatia: Hadzic Says UNTAES Responsible for Citizens' Safety

AU0907181196 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 8 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Over 1,000 residents of Tenja and their guests gath[illegible]d yesterday to mark the five-year anniversary of the defense of the village from a Croatian attack in 1991.

Evoking the memories of [word indistinct] in 1991, when an attack by several hundred Croatian soldiers from the Osijek area was warded off, municipality president Jovan Rebraca said the people of Tenja and the entire area are again facing crucial decisions.

"Krajina was not blown away by thunder or lightning but by the skillful policies of international power brokers," said Rebraca, adding that over the past five years the Serb people have suffered the greatest genocide in modern history.

Addressing the meeting participants, Province President Goran Hadzic and Prime Minister Dr. Vojislav Stanimirovic said the Serb people must create a unified front to secure civil, ethnic, human, and other rights of the people in this area through political and democratic methods.

"Our weapons could not guarantee our safety, which was evident in western Slavonia and western Krajina," said Hadzic, expressing his hope that the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] mandate and mission would be successfully implemented. He added that by signing the document on demilitarization, General Schoups, commander of the military component of UNTAES, took on the responsibility of

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protecting the people. "If Croatia attacks, it will not be attacking us but UNTAES," said Hadzic.

Ankica (?Mikic), president of the Association of Refugees, also addressed the meeting.

Croatia: Serb Politician Warns of New Serb Exodus

LD0407192896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1736 GMT 4 Jul 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 4 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian People's Party Milan Djukic said in Zagreb Thursday he was partially satisfied with the implementation of the Erdut Agreement in the Serb region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem.

At a news conference, Djukic stressed that the process of demilitarization and establishment of communications was proceeding well, but that some statements made by the Croatian authorities were disturbing and creating concern whether problems in the areas would be solved peacefully.

The Serb region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem is the only territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina that was not run over by the Croatian army.

The Croatian army attacked in May and in August 1995 the northern, southern and western parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina, declared by Serbs as their historical and ethnic territories by the end of 1991, after the Zagreb regime forcibly seceded from the former Yugoslavia.

Croatian army attacks led to the exodus of over 250,000 Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Since the beginning of the war in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, over 400,000 Serbs, who according to the latest census in 1990 accounted for 12.6 percent of the population of Croatia, fled or were expelled from Croatia.

'The media is making it clear, on a daily basis, that Serbs are undesirable,' Djukic said and added that it is logical to ask if the Croatian authorities want Serbs to remain in Eastern Slavonia or if 'Serbs will experience a new exodus.'

Djukic said that the settling of Serb farms by Croats was continuing, and that other forms of discrimination hindered the return of Serbs to their homes. All that is part of a 'systematic policy' and not 'individual cases,' as is officially presented, Djukic assessed.

Djukic said that he was 'amazed that Cardinal (of Zagreb Dr. Franjo) Kuharic said that Serbs had left because they were not ready to live in Croatia. This statement indicates that the Catholic Church had been interfering into politics all along, he said in conclusion.

Croatia: Return of Serbs to W. Slavonia, Krajina Urged

LD0607154196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1512 GMT 6 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 6 (TANJUG)—The anti-war campaign of Croatia urges the return of Serbs to West Slavonia and Krajina, the peace organization's spokeswoman Vesna Terselic said Saturday.

Terselic told a news conference in Zagreb that Croatian authorities had carried out ethnic cleansing in the two regions in the military operations in May and August of 1995.

Croatia occupied West Slavonia (western part of the then republic of Serb Krajina) in May and Krajina (northern and southern parts of the then Serb Republic) in August.

As a result of Croatian aggression, about 300,000 Serbs fled the territory on which their ancestors had lived for centuries.

The several thousand Serbs who remained, mostly the elder, were terrorized by Croatian paramilitary formations.

U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali has accused the Croatian police in an official report of failing to protect the Serb population.

Terselic said the issue of the reintegration of East Slavonia was irrevocably linked to the issue of the return of displaced Serbs.

The Serb region of East Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem is the only part of the Republic of Serb Krajina which has not been occupied by Croatia.

The Serb region has been placed under a transitional U.N. administration for a period of one year, or two at the most, under the Erdut agreement reached late last year.

Terselic said she had seen for herslef in the Serb region that Serbs were not afraid of living together with other peoples but that they feared Croatian authorities, especially since the August 1995 military operation.

She said it was 'illusory to think that similar events will not be repeated during the reintegration of East Slavonia, unless the perpetrators of criminal actions are punished.'

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Croatia: Police Chief Describes Transitional Force

AU0807104096 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 96 p 3

[Interview with Petar Djukic, head of the Transitional Police Force in the Croatian Danube River basin, by Marko Barisic in Borovo Naselje; date not given: "We Do Not Want Our People To Recognize Each Other by Nationality"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Barisic] Can you describe to us the structure of the Transitional Police now?

[Djukic] In terms of personnel, the Transitional Police consists of three parts. In terms of sze, the militia that has existed in the territory of the district of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem makes up the majority of the Transitional Police. Then there are 150 members of the police of the Republic of Croatia, and 400 civilian policemen of the United Nations. And let me say immediately, there is also the military component of the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] which also has a certain police say in that matter, if those forces are not capable of carrying out some more difficult task. So, it can help, intervene, or place certain equipment and personnel at the disposal of the Transitional Police. The organization is organized in the way that here where you find yourself now in Borovo Naselje is the center, and there are also two basic organizational units: one in Vukovar, and the other in Beli Manastir. That does not correspond to the organization of the Republic of Croatia, which is understandable, because the territorial division of the Republic of Croatia differs from the one in this area now.

[Barisic] What about the command structure?

[Djukic] Here is the center, that is, the administrative part of the service, of which I am the head, with the official title head of the Transitional Police Force. My deputy is Josip Milicevic, from the services in the seat of MUP RH [Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia], and we have four assistants for the questions of borders, police order [words illegible]. Milicevic has not arrived yet. His office is just across from mine, as are the offices of our assistants.

[Barisic] Who is your superior?

[Djukic] We are all responsible exclusively to Mr Klein, and that is the fact that is still not understood by certain structures, on both sides. I am very satisfied because I am responsible only to him.

[Barisic] Are there any misunderstandings in the interpretation of certain provisions between you and the Croatian side?

[Djukic] Personally, I find no reason for misunderstandings. However, I have heard an interpretation that the MUP RH has a say regarding the composition of the Transitional Police personnel. That is not true. I have no direct obligations or responsibility toward that Ministry or Minister Jarnjak, but it is understandable that, if they are dissatisfied with my work, or with the work of any of my associates, they have a right to point out any omissions or shortcomings through the common bodies of the Transitional Administration. So, I am responsible only to General Klein. If I had to be under the authority of Minister Jarnjak, I would have not accepted this job. [passage omitted]

[Barisic] Let us go back to the mixed police. What will it be dealing with?

[Djukic] You say mixed, and I say transitional. I have already said that that it consisted of three components, and when they join each other, they carry out jobs and tasks together. They wear the same uniform, they have the same rules of procedure, and our basic efforts are directed in three directions. And that is, that all transitional policemen respect the Constitution and the law—it is true that now the legal acts of the international community are valid here—then, to respect the dignity, integrity of men in their work, and to observe the democratic values of the society of this level that has been achieved. I assure you that the professional level of the transitional policemen is very high. This was contributed to by the fact that 300 men have attended additional training at the American academy in Budapest, 630 men have attended a shortened program in Erdut, and apart from that, most of them have competent education. Therefore it is perfectly clear that they will carry out their jobs and tasks successfully, responsibly, and professionally.

[Barisic] What is the security situation in this area?

[Djukic] You are aware of the fact that the offense of violence is on the increase in all the regions of former Yugoslavia, regardless of whether they were directly involved in the war or not. The crimes familiar in the developed world are also increasing. Apart from that, the war lasted a long time, people are exhausted. There are also some postwar syndromes that are reflected in violent behavior that is not directly associated with national affairs. People are frustrated. They have lost a lot, and won little, while they expected much more. I think that the Transitional Police Force will face very serious and complex problems because of all these things I have mentioned. Apart from that, one

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must bear in mind the conditions in which police work is carried out. Accordingly, a police apparatus, no matter how large, expert, or well equipped, cannot do its job properly if the other aspects of the security and protection system are not functioning. I mainly mean the need to strengthen the security culture among the citizens who have been living here now, and those who will be moving in here. Above all, the political structures' information system and propaganda must play a significant role. Then there must be a functioning legislature. There must also be quick and efficient prosecution in the sense of bringing charges and reaching verdicts for criminal offenders. Such individuals must be sent to serve their sentences or sanctions in good time, and they must be reeducated and reincorporated in society. Further, it is perfectly understandable that migration crime will dominate here. According to criminology, it is a perfectly normal conflict, and it has no international character. It is a conflict between the population that lives here and the newly arrived migration groups regarding habits and positions. The second conflict is among themselves, when they compete for the same jobs. Then there will also be conflicts about behavior and their role while they were in some other places and so on. So, there will be very many crime-related factors, and we will need a good and efficient police.

[Barisic] Who is paying you and the Transitional Police?

[Djukic] Partly the Transitional Administration, partly the Republic of Croatia, and partly this district.

[Barisic] What currency will you be paid in?

[Djukic] I hope we will be paid in dollars.

[Barisic] How much money approximately will it be?

[Djukic] It will be a very large amount of money in comparison with present wages, which is quite understandable regarding the difficulty of the job we will be doing

[Barisic] What will the average police officer's salary be?

[Djukic] I cannot tell you precisely because it depends on years of service. Seventy percent will be a constant amount, while the remainder, pegged to the police officer's efficiency, will act as an incentive. Apart from salaries, Mr. Klein has promised that he would deal with life insurance and issues of housing and pensions. Thus two years after the expiry of the Transitional Administration, pensions will not be able to be revised. Apart from that, the people who leave the police will be given financial compensation, and, what is most important, both sides are completely equal in all these rights.

[Barisic] What will be the changes in police structure when the return of banished Croats starts?

[Djukic] The police organization is very flexible. If the process of moving in goes according to plan, the structure will be changed simultaneously, but not only in the sense that we have an equal national structure. Thus, for instance, there is no reason not to establish a police station in the municipality of Nijemci, if the population moves in.

[Barisic] What will the police patrol or checkpoint look like? What will its structure be?

[Djukic] The structure of a patrol or a checkpoint will depend upon the task. Where force is needed, then a patrol will consist of young policemen trained for such tasks. If it is an investigation, then there will be criminal experts, detectives. We will establish no measures by national structure at all. We want it to be one entity, a mechanism, that treats all inhabitants utterly equally. We do not want our people to recognize each other by nationality.

[Barisic] What will happen at the end of the Transitional Administration?

[Djukic] Upon the expiry of the UNTAES mandate there should be a different police structure. However, to be frank, I do not know the final political solution for this district. It is my job to carry out my task regarding the Transitional Police Force in a professional and expert way, and we, the policemen, will not be the ones deciding the final solution, but the politicians.

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Poland: Leftist Daily Assesses President's U.S. Visit

WS1107094896 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 11 Jul 96 p 1

[Untitled commentary by Krystyna Szelestowska under the "One Hundred Words" rubric]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Kwasniewski has left the United States without hearing any declaration from his host on when Poland will be accepted into NATO. He heard only the repeated assurance that the alliance will enlarge to include the states of Central and East Europe. That is not much, even if one does consider Vice President Al Gore's statement that "Clinton will be the President under whose term in office Poland will enter NATO." These promises fell short of our expectations. They are particularly high now that the Russian elections are over.

Nevertheless, even the U.S. media, which are not always gracious toward the incumbent president, stress that Kwasniewski's visit was very fruitful. The United States now has a fresher picture of Poland and the Polish president, who dispelled many doubts and showed that our "efforts to join Western structures have gained new impetus under his rule." This opinion will have a huge influence on convincing the U.S. Congress and [U.S.] citizens that NATO should be enlarged to include Poland.

Poland: U.S. Assistant Defense Secretary on NATO Standards

WS1107082496 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 11 Jul 96 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Dr. Edward L. Warner, U.S. assistant secretary of defense, by Jerzy Markowski in Warsaw on 8 July: "Absolutely Necessary Partnership Between Men in Uniform and Civilians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [POLSKA ZBROJNA] What is the purpose of the U.S. delegation's visit, and what topics will you discuss with the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense [MON]?

[Warner] We are here because the United States is continuing its efforts to cooperate with Poland on current defense issues, including Poland's possible entry into NATO.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] It so happens that Presidents Kwasniewski and Clinton are discussing Poland's membership in NATO today. What is your opinion of the enlargement of the alliance to include Poland and other Central European states?

[Warner] NATO has already made certain commitments to enlarge in a couple of years. Currently a process is under way within which several countries expressed their willingness and readiness to join NATO. Therefore, the obligations and responsibilities of these countries are currently being debated. Personally, I think the decision on NATO enlargement will be made in one or two years, and the whole enlargement process should be completed within the next three years.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] This coincides to a certain degree with the field of your professional interests—namely, strategy and requirements. To what extent will the decision to accept Poland in NATO intensify Polish-U.S. cooperation in the area of defense, including the arms industry in both countries?

[Warner] At the moment, it is difficult to predict what effects the decision will have on the government on the MON statute and the Navy Shipyard arms requisition [sentence as published]. Negotiations on various types of weaponry are currently under way with the Polish Government. Naturally, decisions must be sovereignly made by the Polish Government, which will either accept or reject our offers. Perhaps it will purchase U.S. weaponry, but we have no influence on that.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The most widely discussed topic is aviation. Two U.S. companies, offering the F-16 and the F-18, are currently rivals in a bid to supply fighters for the Polish Air Force. Which plane do you think is more suitable for Poland?

[Warner] I think it is up to the Polish authorities to decide. We are happy with both models. The F-16 is the staple craft used by the U.S. Air Force, and the F-18 the one used by the Navy and the Marines. Both are excellent aircraft. The Polish party has to analyze the nature and character of the offers and decide which is more suitable for Poland.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The compatibility and interoperability of the Polish Armed Forces with NATO counterparts also implies technical and technological solutions. Some 700 have already been passed on the Polish Armed Forces. Can all of them be applied in our country unconditionally?

[Warner] Of course. NATO should present a list of standardization and interoperability priorities, which are very important. On our side, we will cooperate with our colleagues at NATO Headquarters in compiling that list. Once Poland does become a NATO member, a final analysis will have to be carried out. The chief objective is to attain the highest possible level of standardization to ensure the compatibility of our armed forces. Standardization is an objective facilitating effective military cooperation in joint defense. It seems natural that full standardization is needed, yet for

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the time being we must focus on those areas where standardization in the new member states must be carried out first.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] In talks with [Deputy Defense] Minister A. Karkoszka and [Chief of General Staff] General Tadeusz Wilecki, a lot of attention was devoted to the transformation of the Polish Armed Forces. How does the U.S. side see this process in Poland?

[Warner] It is obvious that restructuring and reform of the Polish defense system is advancing and going in the right direction. We see the implementation of all of the principles elaborated by [Deputy Defense] Minister Karkoszka's team to be very positive solutions. We had an opportunity to talk with officers of the Polish Armed Forces and representatives of MON, and we share their opinions on these issues. We believe that reforms are a significant element in the improvement of all of the Polish defense structures. They are equally important and beneficial in promoting Poland's aspirations to become a NATO member.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Are you thinking about civilian control over the Armed Forces?

[Warner] Civilian control and administration over the defense system by the minister hand in hand with the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces and professionals in uniform is definitely one of the elements. I believe it is an achievable part of Poland's defense capability. This is exactly how we try to solve problems pertaining to defense. We have very skilled professionals in uniform who enjoy trust and authority, who work together as partners with civilians in the Defense Department on our defense. That partnership between men in uniform and civilians is absolutely necessary.

Poland: Additional Reaction to Eli Wiesel's Speech at Kielce

WS1007144196 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jul 96 pp 1-2

[Report by the Catholic News Agency, PAP, "A.W.," "M.D.Z.": "After Elie Wiesel's Kielce Speech; Sorrow and Surprise"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *Bishops and the Polish right are criticizing the statement made by Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, who said during ceremonies on the 50th anniversary of the Kielce pogrom that "the presence of crosses on the holy soil covering uncounted Jewish victims in Birkenau was and remains blasphemous."*

Prime Minister Cimoszewicz, asked before a Cabinet session on 9 July whether he shared Elie Wiesel's opinion, said that the statement was very strong, but he pointed out the specific personal context of the words of the Nobel Peace Prize winner: Nearly all of Wiesel's family was murdered in Birkenau, just like many other Hungarian Jews. The prime minister claims that, if everyone exhibited the "necessary goodwill," a "good solution satisfying all" could be found. Asked whether he had promised Wiesel that the crosses would be removed, Cimoszewicz said that, in a letter inviting Wiesel to take part in the ceremonies of the 50th anniversary of the Kielce pogrom, he admitted that he knew what his opinions were and promised to "take up the issue personally." The prime minister said that, in direct conversation in Kielce, he noted "the tremendous sensitivity of this issue, particularly in Poland, for Catholics and Christians for whom the symbol of the cross has a unique value."

On 9 July, Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, secretary general of the Polish Episcopate, described the demand that crosses be removed from the site of the former extermination camp in Auschwitz as preposterous and extreme. "We do not want Stars of David removed from anywhere," he stressed in conversation with reporters.

"In defense of the good name of the Polish nation," the Association of Veteran and Independence Organizations protested the statements made by the Nobel Peace Prize winner and Prime Minister Cimoszewicz. "Prime Minister Cimoszewicz made a serious political mistake in his speech. Our association joins the organizations and people expressing their deep sorrow over the fact that several dozen Jews were murdered by Poles in Kielce on 4 July 1946 and in later days. We do not, however, see any excuse for blaming the entire Polish nation."

"Instead of unjustly accusing the entire nation of alleged anti-Semitism and offering apologies on its behalf, Prime Minister Cimoszewicz should apologize for the crimes his ideological predecessors committed," says the protest. "We were even more hurt by Elie Wiesel's speech. We see his inappropriate likening of the Kielce pogrom to the Holocaust and the firm demand that crosses be removed from Auschwitz as a political faux pas and a moral indignity."

Leaders of the Christian National Union [ZChN] said that Elie Wiesel's speech was an expression of intolerance. "We were outraged. Not only Jews, but also Christians died in the camp. We respect the religious symbols of others and expect the same of the Jews," said ZChN Deputy Chairman Tomasz Szyszko. ZChN leaders pointed to another passage of Wiesel's speech. He quoted Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, who promised Wiesel he would personally deal with the removal of the crosses from Birkenau. "It is inconceivable for

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the prime minister of the Polish Government to make such promises," said Szyszko. ZChN Spokesman Michal Kaminski added that "Mr. Cimoszewicz's formation is very experienced in removing crosses."

According to Jan Olszewski [chairman of the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland—ROP], "Elie Wiesel enjoys huge international recognition, but he showed little knowledge of Polish reality during the the war and afterward." "This also applies to the crosses at Auschwitz. It was not only the site of the extermination of the Jews, but also primarily a camp built for the Poles, in which the moral elites of Catholic Europe perished. These people are entitled to crosses in Auschwitz," said the ROP chairman. [passage omitted]

"This has to be settled by the top authorities. The politicians' opinions will not suffice because the differences run very deep. This is not a case of fighting prejudice," says Ambassador Krzysztof Sliwinski, the foreign minister's plenipotentiary for relations with the diaspora. The ambassador expressed his regrets that Eli Wiesel failed to mention in Kielce what he always used to say in the context of the crosses in Auschwitz—namely, that there should be neither crosses nor Stars of David there.

Poland: Government Adopts Preliminary Budget Law for 1997

WS1107104396 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Jul 96 p 1

[Article by Jakub Cegiela: "Approval of the Budget"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *After a stormy, 10-hour debate, the government yesterday approved the basic assumptions of next year's budget law and expenditure limits for the ministries.*

The government is promising a real increase in wages, among others for employees of the education, culture, and health-care sectors, but it still remains unknown how high it will be. It is known that earnings in state companies are to grow by a real value of 2.8 percent.

Other priorities include a real 3-percent growth of outlays on agriculture and a real growth of old age and disability pensions (although specific figures are not given).

Budget revenues are projected at 115.5 billion zlotys [Z] (Z100 billion of which will come from taxes). Expenditures are to be Z126.5 billion, thus giving an anticipated deficit of Z11 billion.

The prime minister claims that a few billion are still missing from the budget. That is why the government has placed ministries that have an influence on revenues generated for the budget under an obligation to seek additional sources of money. Cimoszewicz maintains that revenues from privatization can be higher and that some administrative fees can be raised. The "extra" revenues would be allocated to the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Justice, and, most of all, the Employment Fund, which is alleged to have caused the most controversy in the course of yesterday's debate.

"We need many billions of old zlotys for intervention, public labor, and training. At the same time, malfeasance is blatant; those who work in the gray zone continue to collect unemployment benefits," Labor Minister Andrzej Baczkowski told GAZETA WYBORCZA. He is announcing rapid legislative changes and a "large-scale" search for jobs. Prime Minister Cimoszewicz added that the possibility of shortening the 12-month period of eligibility for unemployment benefits should be considered in regions where the unemployment rate is lowest.

Asked about the main reason for the conflict between the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Social Democratic Alliance—namely, the premiums paid by farmers on social security—the prime minister said: "The government will adhere to the decision it made last Friday [5 July]." With the PSL voting against, the Council of Ministers decided that the premiums paid by farmers are to be higher by an average 20 percent than in 1995, but the sum will depend on the size and profitability of their farms. Yesterday, Deputy Prime Minister Roman Jagielinski (PSL) told reporters: "We are still looking for a compromise on this issue."

The preliminary spending limits will now be submitted to the ministries. The government will discuss them again at the end of August. By the end of October, the draft budget law should reach the Sejm.

Poland: Dismissal of Gdansk Voivode Deemed 'Political'

WS1107123996 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Jul 96 p 4

[Article by "BG, MOG, WK": "Voivode Sacked; Summoned for Dismissal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gdansk Voivode Maciej Plazynski, an honorary Solidarity member and one of the last voivodes appointed by the Solidarity governments, was dismissed yesterday.

Plazynski, appointed in 1990 by [then Prime Minister] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, came to Warsaw yesterday for talks with the labor and privatization ministers to discuss the new Gdansk shipyard. Before he was due to leave, he was informed, without being given any reason, that

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he was summoned to the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM].

URM head Leszek Miller (of the Democratic Left Alliance—SLD) refused to wait until Plazynski finished his meeting with [Labor] Minister Baczkowski. He asked his secretary to call the voivode out of the meeting and at approximately 1900 asked him to resign. The reason given was unsatisfactory performance of duty.

"This is a political decision," said Plazynski on Radio "Plus." "Party and electoral interests took the upper hand."

SLD deputies from Gdansk had submitted an appeal for Plazynski's dismissal as early as 1993. Henryk Wojciechowski, head of the Gdansk chapter of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, is mentioned as Plazynski's successor.

Poland: Solidarity, Others Protest Gdansk Governor's Dismissal

LD1107123796 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1124 GMT 11 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Gdansk, 11 Jul (PAP)—Representatives of local government, the mayors of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot, and Gdansk's Solidarity chapter today protested the dismissal of Gdansk provincial governor Maciej Plazynski.

In a letter sent today to Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, members of the province's local government expressed their "resolute resentment" and said that "this decision, made despite the local government's good opinion about him, is evidence of how the Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party coalition ignores the opinion of local communities."

Regional boards of the "100 Movement" and the Conservative Party also sent protest letters to the prime minister today. [passage omitted]

Gdansk Shipyard Solidarity believes that Plazynski's dismissal is connected with the situation in the shipyard. "This situation will get even worse when we again receive only part of the June salary," said Karol Guzikiewicz, deputy chairman of the shipyard Solidarity, speaking to a PAP journalist. [passage omitted]

Maciej Plazynski, born in 1958, was the last Solidarity governor. [passage omitted] He was appointed to the post of Gdansk provincial governor in August 1990 by [former] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Poland: Further Realignments on Right Prior to Elections

WS1007144596 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jul 96 p 2

[Article by "M.D.Z.": "BBWR Wants To Split the Post-August Camp in Three"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Christian-National Union [ZChN] still hopes the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland [ROP] will change its mind and join the Solidarity Election Initiative. ROP, however, claims that the Initiative has a weak chance of electoral success. The Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reform, in turn, has announced that it will form a new Christian-national-democratic grouping.*

ZChN leaders claim that by coming forth with several election tickets the right will do the left a favor. "Voters tend to vote for those are strong," [ZChN Chairman] Marian Pilka said by way of encouragement, adding that the name of Solidarity unites all post-August groups and should not antagonize the right. ZChN politicians believe that no far-reaching conclusions should be drawn from the fact that Solidarity activists are negotiating with the Freedom Union [UW]. Pilka remarked that the resolution adopted by the ZChN speaks about a nonaggression pact with UW and not of an alliance.

[ROP Chairman] Jan Olszewski fears that UW might join the Solidarity Election Initiative, in which case his party would be incapable of retaining its ideological identity. ROP is currently cooperating with the rural Solidarity, but, as Roman Wierzbicki, the rural Solidarity leader said at a news conference held yesterday, the group is not closed, its shape is not final, and it can be enlarged.

BBWR politicians have their ideas of how the right of the political scene can be divided. They claim that "for the sake of the citizens and the state," the BBWR should establish a Bloc for Poland as a Christian-national-democratic coalition. BBWR Deputy Leszek Zielinski suggested that UW build a liberal-conservative bloc. The BBWR leaders see ROP, a radical and prosocial rightist party, as the third major force in the Solidarity camp.

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Romania: Melescanu Returns From Visit to Greece

AU0907200196 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 9 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu returned from Athens a short while ago, where he had been making an official two-day visit at the invitation of his Greek counterpart, Theodhoros Pangalos. In a press statement on his arrival in Bucharest, the head of Romanian diplomacy expressed satisfaction over Greece's firm support for our country's integration into the EU and Euro-Atlantic structures. Mr. Teodor Melescanu said that the sides had examined the bilateral ties between the two countries, which were assessed as registering a positive development.

The two foreign ministers had discussed the possibility of intensifying economic cooperation in production and ways to further the Bulgarian initiative on cooperation in the Balkan area, which had been discussed in Sofia last week, our correspondent Iulia Gherman reports.

Romania: Vacaroiu: Election Campaign To Start on 4 Sep

AU1107070996 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The election campaign for the legislative and presidential elections will start on 4 September, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu announced at today's meeting with the prefects of counties and Bucharest Municipality. Several government decisions were adopted in connection with these elections, with another document on financing the political parties being still under discussion. The prime minister then referred to other issues, such as the concern with social protection of the population after the recent price increases.

At the meeting with the prefects, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu also briefed them on the discussions conducted in recent days with the management of the National Bank of Romania regarding the withdrawal of its financial support for Dacia Felix and Creditbank banks, our correspondent Mircea Rucareanu reports.

In an interview with our radio station, the prime minister said that it would have been preferable for these talks to take place before the aforementioned financial support was suspended, in order to take the best possible measures. We are concerned and, together with the National Bank, are trying to take appropriate measures to protect the people's deposits with the respective banks, the government chief said. We are dealing with a misrepresentation of the situation here because the National Bank could have granted supplementary financial support to the two banks, so as to ensure the sum of 300 billion lei, which represents the deposits of some 400,000 citizens in the Dacia Felix and Creditbank banks. The prime minister expressed his astonishment at the fact that the current leadership of the National Bank has not made a decision in this respect. The issuance of an ordinance to ensure bank guarantees is not within the realm of the government's prerogatives, the prime minister said. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that the population's deposits with the two banks could be transferred to the Central Savings Bank [CEC], the only bank in Romania enjoying state guarantees. We believe, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu said in conclusion, that those responsible for the irregularities at Dacia Felix and Creditbank must bear the rigors of the law, so as to prevent a repeat of such a situation.

Romania: Iliescu Warns PDSR To Choose Business or Politics

AU1107094896 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 5 Jul 96 pp 1, 3

[Editorial by Irinel Radulescu: "The Social Democracy Party of Romania Is Summoned to Cotroceni Palace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "If you want me to run in the next elections on behalf of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], you should let me have a veto over the lists of candidates for the fall elections. I want to know who I am going to join in the battle," President Iliescu said last Wednesday at the meeting of the PDSR Executive Bureau. This condition, which was raised in a more restricted framework on another occasion, encompasses all of the president's complaints about the PDSR's political performance and the results of the local elections, which were below expectations. This discontent was enhanced by Mr. Iliescu's speech to the PDSR leadership. It indicated that the party should carry out a radical change in its overall policy, particularly in its cadre policy.

Analyzing the PDSR's performance, President Iliescu suggested that up to 1995 one can practically talk about an inactive party, about "shortcomings in party activity," and about a "lack of organization." This could not be compensated for by the visits to the provinces at the beginning of the year, "visits that were confined to meetings with the county leaderships, without establishing contact with ordinary people." He called for the "stuffy and inefficient" central party organization to be overhauled and charged the two party presidents with conducting a lucid, realistic, and responsible political analysis, without panic. At the same time, he drew attention to the danger of defeatism, which the opposition is trying to induce within the PDSR. The government was also called upon to examine

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the situation and to be more active because it has failed to explain and capitalize on the good work it has done, while, at the same time, it has neglected to explain the painful measures it had to take, measures imposed by the transition period. In addition, the president thinks that there has been a lack of communication between the PDSR and the government, which led to the party's being punished at the ballot box for measures taken by the government. Combining the analysis of the "local elections" with the coming general elections, President Iliescu in effect submitted a list of problems the PDSR must solve by the beginning of August, when the National Council is to hold an extraordinary meeting. They include the drafting of a simple election platform, directed clearly at the citizens; a government program with clear and immediate measures for the fall-winter period; a coherent program for dealing with the price increases; a program for Euro-Atlantic integration; and a program to ensure the continuation of the government.

Despite the internal pressures that have the tendency to keep the PDSR a closed party, President Iliescu asked it to show openness and engage in negotiations with various political forces, both before and after the fall elections. He also asked it to change its relationship with the mass media. These "vacation" themes, which will determine whether the president runs under the PDSR banner in the next elections, can only be realized with changes in personnel. These changes must be "even surgical," as the president put it, dwelling at length on the prototype of the PDSR candidate. "Wherever the elections were lost, they were lost because of the quality of the people put forward and of the various branch leaderships," Mr. Iliescu concluded. He asked for worthy, charismatic, and persuasive candidates, people of integrity, free in particular of the image of corruption that prevails everywhere (in supervisory shareholders boards, in Parliament, in the PDSR, and so forth). "I have nothing against people who are involved in business, but they should stay there. Their place is not in Parliament or the PDSR leadership. If they are in business, they should give up their public positions," the president said. Again, he drew the attention of the parliament members, particularly in the Senate, to the size of the pensions they intend to set for themselves. Referring to PDSR parliamentary activity, President Iliescu called for a structure based on young people who can speak foreign languages and have the ability to struggle. He did not recoil from saying that a rigorous analysis of the parliamentary groups' work would show that "there are not many members of parliament who are still eligible." This leads one to expect that the selection of future candidates will be strict and not based on blackmail. This is what President Iliescu had to tell the party that wants to propose and support him for another presidential term.

Although many people expected "something special" to happen last Wednesday evening, all that emerged was the convergence of ideas in the president's speech and the material presented by Adrian Nastase [PDSR executive president]. Likewise, the only reproach made to the election campaign manager was that there were too many posters and that the campaign was impersonal, far removed from the people. Moreover, President Iliescu again succeeded in quieting the "Martian spirit" [Dan Martian, PDSR vice president and leader of the party's conservative wing], with the latter saying that he would forgo his turn to take the floor.

As a first and pretty general conclusion, one can say that last Wednesday's meeting of the Central Executive Bureau has toned down, for the moment, the intentions of several groups in the central leadership to settle accounts with each other, the unofficial slogan being, as we have reported in this newspaper, "Party unity." Likewise, the goals and measures proposed for the future seem to aim at totally changing the PDSR's image. It remains to be seen how this goal can be achieved and to what extent the new problems raised by the president before the party can be overcome. Mr. Iliescu said that, in the fall, Parliament must adopt the laws on the status of the public servant, on ministerial responsibility, and on the declaration of assets. On the other hand, he said that not many of the current parliament members will appear on the electoral lists again. These two facts will mean that personal interests and the desire to be on some list in Parliament, or at least to enjoy a parliamentary pension or other advantages, will probably rank higher than PDSR unity and winning the elections. In this respect, the PDSR is again starting out with a handicap. However, its advantage is that, depending on the way in which it puts together its candidate lists, it will be able to convey the correct and positive message about its future intentions. Its fate as a potential future ruling party depends solely on its cadre policy. If this had been good and free of deal-making until now, it would not have undermined the party's other policies. Another question arises now: Why are all these things being tackled so late?

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Romania: Nastase on PDSR Election Result, Iliescu Meeting

AU1007174296 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 5 Jul p 17

[Interview with Adrian Nastase, executive president of the Party of Social Democracy of Romania, by Florin Condurateanu; place and date not given: "It Is Strange That the Parties That Claim To Be to Our Right Are Sneaking to Our Left in Order To Collect Votes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Condurateanu] President Adrian Nastase, there is talk in town that at President Ion Iliescu's meeting with the Party of Social Democracy of Romania [PDSR] leaders the term "purging the party" was used. What is the meaning of the word "purging" in this context?

[Nastase] First, such an expression was not used. It probably appeared in the corridors or when information was distorted. The word was not used, and we are not interested in finding culprits or making heads roll. We are interested in drawing conclusions and improving our performance in the fall elections, possibly by reorganizing the leadership of some organizations, with some measures we are going to take. Purging is out of the question.

[Condurateanu] What is the justification for the planned measures aimed at making businessmen withdraw from the PDSR?

[Nastase] No, not from the PDSR. As President Iliescu so rightly said, dignitaries should not be businessmen. He was referring, however, to those who occupy positions at a certain level in state institutions, those who might be accused of having certain intentions of an economic nature. However, valuable people who are involved in business can remain simple PDSR members.

[Condurateanu] Can businessmen be in the PDSR leadership?

[Nastase] They can be also in the PDSR leadership. However, as the president suggested, people who are in the leadership should not be businessmen.

[Condurateanu] Will Dan Martian [PDSR deputy] withdraw from the PDSR?

[Nastase] No way. On the contrary, I believe that Mr. Martian is very comfortable in the PDSR, but in the press it has often been insinuated that he was leaving the party. Dan Martian said something that I find is very true and that I have also confirmed—namely, that the PDSR is a big enough party to allow itself to have various opinions, people with different experience, and different generations. Thus, we do not wish to be an ideological monolith. We have common goals even when issues are approached from different ways.

[Condurateanu] In his speech, Dan Martian named some people who have been involved in some not exactly correct affairs.

[Nastase] Dan Martian was not referring to anyone in particular. He was only referring to some issues in principle, such as corruption, and other problems. That seemed to me a very good speech, and I believe he was right on the issues he spoke about. I believe we should take measures at legislative level and at the level of our parliamentary group, urgent measures to legally finalize the law on public-sector employees, the law on ministerial duties, and the law on declaring personal property.

[Condurateanu] Has Mr. Liviu Maior [education minister] resigned?

[Nastase] No, he has not. During the meeting at Cotroceni Palace, Mr. Maior raised a problem that has arisen and that, to be perfectly honest, none of us had noticed. According to our statute, we have within our Standing Delegation somebody who represents the ministerial group. Mr. Maior said: "Gentlemen, since the premier has become vice president and a member of the Standing Delegation, it is difficult for someone else to lead the parliamentary group." Mr. Maior used to be the leader of the ministerial group and wished to resign from this job as ministerial leader.

[Condurateanu] Was the resignation of Mr. Dan Mircea Popescu [minister of labor and social protection] requested at the meeting on Wednesday?

[Nastase] No way. This is an idea I also learned about from the press. It is true that at one point we were aware that Mr. Dan Mircea Popescu had health problems. However, I am sure that if he considers that he should work in a different sector or he wishes to do so, he will discuss this matter with us.

[Condurateanu] Did President Iliescu indicate his dissatisfaction with the PDSR's results in the recent [local] elections?

[Nastase] No, he did not. President Iliescu invited us to make a rational analysis of the results. They can be interpreted in various ways. In certain aspects the results were good, and in another aspect they were not very good. This was a rehearsal for the general elections. We did not go to Cotroceni for an exam and to get grades but, rather, for a rational analysis that would lead to better results in the fall.

[Condurateanu] However, are you not concerned about the fact that there were at least two signals from the

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recent elections? Namely, those who did not turn out to vote showed that they are not interested in the policies being pursued by the entire group of politicians in their current form, while those who voted for the opposition indicated that they want a change.

[Nastase] If you had seen the material I presented to our colleagues, you would have noticed that it started precisely with these sentences. It is material that will reach the press. Perhaps it already has. It starts with this idea: We need a change, we need to understand that the electorate wants a change. This desire for change might come from us, or it might come from others.

[Condurateanu] Is the PDSR preparing for a sudden and spectacular move to swing the electoral balance in its favor?

[Nastase] I believe we are going to take a number of actions. I do not know how spectacular they will be. We will have to be consistent with the level of the country's resources, which cannot be falsified just to allow for populist variations. We do not permit ourselves such a thing and are not proposing it. Therefore, we shall certainly have to look very carefully for a package of measures that can reflect the change, the shift in the pace of legislation, economy, and the fight against corruption, as well as a change regarding order and confidence in the future. And, finally, we must find the right measures to raise the standard of living.

[Condurateanu] Is the millstone around the PDSR's neck not too heavy? I am referring to the recent price increases. Were you not afraid of the price hikes now, before the fall elections?

[Nastase] That stone is indeed heavy, but, at the same time, it is a test of our seriousness. We do not hide difficulties, we do not attempt to push these difficulties over to the next year, to the future government. We all have to bear the costs of the transition. What I believe is noteworthy is the fact that in these four years the GDP nevertheless increased by 20 percent. We should not forget that, when we took over, industrial output was 60 percent of the 1989 level. Thus, there has been a 20-percent increase in these four years.

[Condurateanu] Did you expect the opposition to do so well in the local elections?

[Nastase] I do not know whether the opposition did so well. In effect, the opposition has raised a certain state of dissatisfaction. It was interesting how the opposition channeled the dissatisfaction toward the economic reform. It is very strange that parties that claim to be on our right side are sneaking to our left in order to collect votes.

[Condurateanu] Is it true that there are two wings within the PDSR and that one of them carried out a violent attack after the PDSR's rather modest result in the elections?

[Nastase] Certainly not. During the elections, each of our colleagues in the PDSR was in charge of certain areas, where the results were either good or less than good. Moreover, the general atmosphere of the Cotroceni meeting was one of dignity and solidarity.

[Condurateanu] Does President Iliescu want to see the list of PDSR candidates?

[Nastase] We suggested this and it seems absolutely normal to me. President Iliescu accepted it for a very simple reason: He will in fact lead a team. We all know this very well, and he has the right to know whether this team will be able to support him in his activity.

[Condurateanu] Mr. Adrian Nastase, what were you doing the night you were informed of the local election results?

[Nastase] I kept my composure and hope.

[Condurateanu] And what did you say to yourself?

[Nastase] That next time we will do better.

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Slovenia: EU Role in Visa Requirement for B-H Citizens Noted

AU1007153196 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 Jul 96

[Commentary by Nadja Pengov]

[FBIS Translated Text] The reasons that Slovenia introduced visas [for Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens] are supposedly quite rational. Behind it all lies the fear of an uncontrolled onslaught of refugees when the time comes for them finally to leave their host countries, particularly Germany, the Nordic states, and Switzerland. Unofficially, some 500,000 people could settle in our country on a temporary or perhaps not so temporary basis. For them Slovenia sentimentally still represents a part of the former motherland. The statistics show that the refugees do not want to return to their true homes yet. Some have nowhere to go, others read the papers.

It can also be heard that our country did not decide to introduce visas without having hints from the outside from certain EU members, specifically Austria, which means that we are turning into a sort of a buffer zone. In the past this was called Vojna Krajina [the military frontier between the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires]. If this is true than this will be the first concrete expression of the price that Slovenia will have to pay for its EU associate membership.

Both of the above aspects can be understood, of course, if we disregard the emotional and humanitarian reasons. However, since the politics should not deal with emotions but should think rationally, and because it would be right if politics promoted rather than undermined friendly relations between the nations, two things are surprising. First, there is the move by Slovene diplomacy, which, without notifying a friendly nation beforehand, made a move that it is now justifying with the desire to facilitate travel. Second, there is the other side's irrational reaction, initially by the first man of the government in Sarajevo and subsequently by some leading economic figures. We can recall the way this goes because it has not been that long: First politics, then the economy, ultimately the poison in people. With less vehemence on our side and less irrational sulking on the other, therefore, with a prior agreement, there would have been less of a fuss, we are convinced.

Slovenia: Long-Term Benefits From EU Integration Anticipated

AU0907201496 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The debate on our country's rapproachement with West European economic integration has almost completely neglected the consequences of this process for our economy. The Bureau for Macroeconomic Analyses and Development, along with some well-known domestic economists, conducted an analysis of the consequences of our integration ino the EU, the results of which were presented today to the parliamentary economic committee. The committee concluded that EU membership was a good decision for Slovenia in the long term. Here is a report by Suzana Kos:

[Begin recording] [Kos] The long-term consequences of Slovenia's rapprochement with the EU are supposed to be positive for us. However, matters could get worse in the short term. Specifically, Slovene companies are faced with transformation, investments in technology, and personnel cuts. Many companies will be unable to keep pace with the changes and will collapse. The cost of restructuring the Slovene economy will perhaps prove too high for some. How long will this difficult phase last? Can one put a time frame on when we will start seeing the favorable results of rapprochement with the Union, we inquired. Janez Potocnik, director of the Bureau for Macroeconomic Analyses, had this to say:

[Potocnik] It is very difficult to say what is long-term and what is short-term.

[Kos] Some companies will fold during the restructuring.

[Potocnik] Unfortunately, that is what restructuring is all about. On the one hand, companies are emerging; on the other hand, they are folding. If new companies manage to emerge and new jobs are created faster than the others are folding, these effects will not be as great or painful.

[Kos] Efforts to raise competitiveness in Europe resulted in an increase in unemployment. Will this happen in Slovenia? Janez Potocnik says it is very difficult to make such an assessment.

[Potocnik] In the short term there will be no significant favorable shifts in the labor market.

[Kos] Although we will also experience some negative consequences, Slovenia has no other alternative but to draw closer to the EU. We simply must pay the price for independence and our entry into Europe, says Janez Potocnik, director of the Bureau for Macroeconomic Analyses.

[Potocnik] Such is the price of the restructuring and market losses, and now the gradual adjustment to the new conditions and new markets. I believe we simply cannot avoid it.

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[Kos] The biggest problems are expected in the construction, food and drink, paper, wood, textile, and leather industries. [end recording]

Slovenia: Agreement on Details of Refugee Return Reached

AU1107074796 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Slovene Bureau for Refugees paid a working visit to Sarajevo on Monday. According to bureau director Milos Sustar, the visit passed within the boundaries of what was expected. The negotiators harmonized the principles of the [refugee] repatriation. This means that all Bosnian citizens who have temporary shelter in Slovenia will return to Bosnia-Herzegovina, regardless of their ethnicity, religious denomination, time of arrival in Slovenia, or place of earlier residence.

The pace and priority of repatriation was not discussed. The material aspect of the matter has not been harmonized, either. The Bosnian side proposed a rather extensive program of reconstruction and refurbishment of apartments, which is not acceptable to the Slovene side.

Another important thing was agreed at the meeting. The Bosnian side accepted the definition of a refugee that prevails in Slovenia and elsewhere in Europe. Namely, only persons who left for third countries as a result of a direct threat after 6 April 1992 are considered refugees. Many people left Bosnia prior to that date, and people also left areas where there were no direct military operations.

According to the latest information on refugee data in the collection centers, there are still approximately 15,000 refugees in Slovenia. The negotiators are expected to meet again before the end of the month.

Slovenia: Radio, TV Chief Replaced, Croatian TV Stopped

LD0407125296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1142 GMT 3 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 3 July (TANJUG)—From 15 July Slovene Television will no longer transmit Croatian TV's first program, the council of the Slovene Radio and TV decided at its session on Tuesday evening.

The main reason for discontinuing the reception of the Croatian TV's main and most diverse channel in Slovenia is, according to the council: "primarily the high cost of maintaining the network of transmitters which amount to over 500,000 German marks annually." The Slovene audience will still be able to watch Croatian TV's second program.

The council also replaced writer and journalist Zarko Petan as the director general of Slovene Radio and TV. A majority of council members voted for him to be replaced because of "disagreements between the council and Petan over some basic programing issues."

It is noted in the request for his replacement that on 25 July Petan will qualify for retirement by age, although his mandate as director general does not expire until January 1998. Petan said he will seek legal action claiming that the decision to replace him is illegal and unlawful.

Peter Mori, member of Slovene Radio and TV inner management, was appointed acting director general.

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Federal

FRY: Accord Signed on Oil Transport via Adriatic Pipeline

LD1007151596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)—Dragan Tomic, director of NIS Jugopetrol [Serbian oil industry], and Ante Cicin-Sain, director of the Adriatic pipeline [built jointly by former Yugoslav republics, now mainly controlled by Croatia], signed a five-year contract today regulating the use of the pipeline to transport oil from Omisalj on the island of Krk [in Croatia] to Yugoslav refineries in Pancevo and Novi Sad.

According to a statement issued by the NIS Jugopetrol information service, the contract will facilitate the continuous supply of crude oil to Yugoslav refineries.

The first ship with crude oil has arrived in Omisalj and the transportation of oil toward the refineries in Pancevo and Novi Sad is already in progress.

FRY: Bill on Trade Accord With Hungary Finalized

LD1007183696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 10 (TANJUG)—The government of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Wednesday finalized a bill ratifying the agreement between FRY and Hungary on trade and economic relations and cooperation, which provdes a legal framework for payments, trade in goods and services and other forms of cooperation between the two neighboring countries.

The agreement also envisages mutual granting of the status of the most favored nation in trade exchange in line with the provisions of the general agreement on tariffs and trade, federal information secretariat said in a statement.

The government also adopted a platform for talks between representatives of the two countries on social security to be held in mid-July in Budapest.

FRY: Commercial Banks' 'Overdraft' Grows 'Significantly'

AU1107095896 Belgrade BETA in English 4-11 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade—The overdraft in the commercial banks' accounts has significantly grown over the last three weeks. The number of banks who are in the red has remained more or less the same (around 20, out of 108). A total daily deficit on July 2 amounted to 50 million dinars ($10 million), while a total deficit was around 80 million dinars ($16 million), the Belgrade DNEVNI TELEGRAF daily announced on July 4. Domestic analysts claim that the serious deficit in the commercial banks' accounts is owed to the preparations of the state for the harvested crop purchase. According to the TELEGRAF sources, the monetary authorities have abandoned the measures of the Program 2 (created by the former National Bank of Yugoslavia governor Dragoslav Avramovic) in regard to withdrawing the work license from the banks which are chronically in the red.

FRY: Officials on Low Yield, Poor Quality of Wheat Harvest

AU1107100296 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 4-11 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad—The first harvest results show that the wheat yield is much lower that the expected 3.7 metric tons per hectare, Secretary for Agriculture of Vojvodina, Olga Curovic, announced on July 5. In the 15,000 hectares (about 5 percent of the sowed acreage) on which the harvest has been carried out so far, the yield ranges from 1.9 to 3.5 metric tons per hectare. Manager of the Zitokop company, Slobodan Trifunovic, said that the quality control showed around 30 percent of the crop as not being fit for human consumption.

Trifunovic stated on July 9 that the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the commercial banks have failed to approve credits to flour-milling companies for the purchase of crop, though the harvest is in full swing. Private flour-milling companies and bakers in Vojvodina are already buying the harvested wheat at 1.05 dinars ($0.21) per kilogram, and paying in cash. For the protective price of 0.90 dinars ($0.18) per kilogram established by the Federal Government, the harvesters do not want to go into the fields while the farmers are not interested in selling, said on July 2 president of the Cooperative Alliance of Vojvodina, Ljiljana Vasic. However, if paid immediately, the farmers might even accept the state price.

FRY: Wheat Yield Said To Suffice for Domestic Needs

LD1007230796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2301 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 10 (TANJUG)—This year's wheat yield in Serbia is being put at 1.860 million tonnes which, together with the about one million tonnes in state reserves, will be

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enough to meet the domestic needs, a Serbian minister said on Wednesday.

Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Resources Nedeljko Sipovac told a news conference that the harvest was proceeding as planned.

Wheat has been gathered on more than 100,000 hectares of the 576,000 hectares under the crop, and the yield is between 1.5 tonne to 3.5 tonnes per hectare, said Sipovac, who is also vice premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

He said that this year's market surplus was estimated at about one million tonnes, and that the farmers would be paid partly in ready money or by money order, and partly by barter.

Sipovac said that this was a noninflationary buy-off and that he had information that the producers were showing considerable interest in the barter offer.

He said that the comparatively low yield this year necessitated restrictions on wheat and flour exports, which primarily meant that export would be allowed only of wheat bought on the futures market in the spring, which came to something like 300,000 tonnes.

Serbia

Serbia: Milosevic Said To Hint at Autonomy for Kosovo

AU0907193196 Paris AFP in English 1909 GMT 9 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, July 9 (AFP)—Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic hinted Tuesday [9 July] at the restitution of autonomy for the restless Albanian majority province of Kosovo.

Buried in an official news story Milosevic was quoted as saying he welcomed the "constructive position" of an opposition politician who has advocated giving back Kosovo its autonomy.

His remarks came following a meeting between Yugoslavia's strongman and Dusan Mihajlovic, whose New Democracy party is a member of Serbia's ruling coalition.

Kosovo was stripped of its autonomy in 1989 during Milosevic's rise to power on the back of resurgent Serb nationalism. The move, accompanied by brutal crackdown on the Albanian population of the southern province, sparked a committed Albanian movement for independence from Serbia.

Belgrade hit back hard with a tough oppressive regime which continues today. Milosevic however is keen to end the costly stand-off as part of his efforts to get Yugoslavia re-integrated into the international community after years as a pariah on account of Serbia's policy in Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Serbia: Milosevic Reportedly To Reshuffle Army Cadre

AU1107094996 Belgrade BETA in English 4-11 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade—Judging by all, Serbian President Milosevic has brought to a conclusion preparations for taking full control of the Yugoslav Army (YA) leadership. Referring to well informed sources, the Belgrade weekly TELEGRAF reported in its latest edition that the chief of the YA General staff, general Momcilo Perisic will be removed early in the fall and that other significant cadre changes are to take place within the YA.

Air force commander, General Ljubisa Velickovic, who did not take part in the war in ex-Yugoslavia, and Commander of the First Army, General Dragoljub Ojdanic, are assessed as the main candidates to replace Perisic's. Velickovic, born in Pozarevac (Milosevic's home town), who proved loyal to the Serbian political leadership throughout the cadre changes it effected in the YA over the last year, is seen as the favorite.

At the same time, Milosevic has continued to strengthen the police force. On July 7, he promoted four police colonels into generals. The Serbian police now has 11 generals and numbers over 110.000 men. It disposes with helicopters, armored transporters, light artillery and all kinds of infantry weapons.

Serbia: Increase in Bread Prices Announced

LD1007220096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2137 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 10 (TANJUG)—The minister of trade of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia said on Wednesday that the price of bread would go up by about thirty percent.

Minister Srdjan Nikolic told a news conference in Belgrade that the present price of wheat and this year's yield dictated the need for raising the prices of bread and flour, which had been stable since January.

Nikolic explained that the corrected price should stimulate the flour mills, bakeries and other producers who use flour in production to buy wheat.

Probably as of next week, the standard 600-gramme loaf of bread from first-class white flour will cost 2.40 dinars (roughly 50 cents), and from second-class flour, 1.80 dinars (35 cents).

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The government has obligated the bakeries to bake at least 30 percent of the latter type of bread, in order to protect the population in the lowest income brackets.

Montenegro

Montenegro: Bulatovic Views Aims, Belgrade Relations

AU1007125696 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 96 pp 6-7

[Interview with Momir Bulatovic, president of Montenegro, by Danica Juricic in Podgorica; date not given: "I Am Not Proud of Montenegrins Going to War!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Even history is not capable of giving an entirely rational explanation of how a country of hellish traditions, where murder is an entirely legitimate passion when it comes to honor, and where pride requires that one should at least stab with a knife the man who insulted you, so, how has it come about that one such country has lost everything it had: its state, its church, its language, its ethics, and its—Dubrovnik?! Montenegro. Surrounded by Albania, Kosovo, southern Serbia, Karadzic's Serb Republic, Italy just across the sea and the road toward Dubrovnik, which they cannot travel along.

Montenegro in 1996, do you whisper Gundulic's [Croatian poet] verses, or you still grind Garasanin's [one of the first ideologists of the Greater Serbian idea] words with your teeth? Nevertheless, a stranger is perfectly safe, and can move around because a stranger is perfectly harmless if interested in politics, unless asking about the Montenegrin or Italian Mafia, whose survival depends on the fact that they are part of the authorities. In Montenegro a stranger can lasciviously enjoy the atmosphere of Amsterdam, or some Caribbean republic in which a coup is slowly warming up, and where one plays an honest form of poker, switchblade in hand. The sound of rotten pop-folk music howls like wolves, or one can hear drumming of the hit dance sound in the streets, these words: "You will give birth to his son, king of cocaine, you will give birth to his children white as snow."

There are also different places, of course, where one can see none of it, and hear none of it, where everything seems normal and calm. Soon the whole of Serbia will be coming to the narrow Montenegrin coastline, and Belgrade will rob Montenegro of its profit because there must be a systematic and elaborated plan of its exploitation in SANU [Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences], perhaps under a nutty title—"Serbia's India." There is a cow grazing in front of the hotel in Podgorica, it is calm, as if it is sacred. A bit further from there, in the President's Palace, lounging in a white leather armchair, Momir Bulatovic, chief of Montenegro, is sitting and saying:

[Bulatovic] Believe me, [JNA General Veljko] Kadijevic literally said to me: "Momir, there are 30,000 Ustasha advancing toward Montenegro, and the people will continue to avoid mobilization, if you do not convince them." Afterward, I talked a lot, primarily to [Mate] Boban [Croatian leader in Herzeg-Bosnia] and President Tudjman, and I found out that on the other side there were five or ten thousand and that the underground channels had been dug out by the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and not by Croatia. We were caught in a kind of a war trap, and we accepted the JNA conviction that an offensive was being prepared, the invasion of the Republic of Montenegro. I am not proud of our boys' taking part in the war, but it was my duty to stand in front of those soldiers, after all, my brother and my closest relatives were among them, and to put them into position to defend the country.

First Shooting

[Juricic] And so in 1991 the propaganda publication "War for Peace" and the photo on which you stood before the armed Montenegrin reservists, seeing them off before their campaign on Dubrovnik.

[Bulatovic] Seen in totally simplified terms, that military operation looks like a campaign on Dubrovnik. Whenever anyone says that to me, I tell him that I am not happy about what happened, but at the same time I am satisfied because Dubrovnik did not experience the destiny of either Mostar, nor Vukovar.

[Juricic] You offend me. It was awful.

[Bulatovic] I know it was awful. Until the declaration of state independence and the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia on the part of the international community, the participation of JNA in the protection of SFRJ [Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia] had been perfectly legal from the standpoint of our internal and international law. Until that moment, the Republic of Montenegro had absolutely fulfilled its mobilization potential and 10 percent of our population participated in the JNA. Simultaneously, when the geopolitical map changed, we were the first to find out that the battle to preserve some kind of SFRY union was in vain, and that one should withdraw and respect the reality. I will remind you of the fact that as early as on 7 October 1991, the National Assembly of Montenegro sent an initiative to the National Assembly of the Republic of Croatia to solve, by agreement, the problems that are the cause of the conflict in this territory. And precisely the whole conflict in the Dubrovnik region started when

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the Croatian police fired the first rounds onto the JNA barracks at Prevlaka.

[Juricic] And how can the so-called normalization of relations between the two states look from such a Montenegrin perspective?!

[Bulatovic] I feel that we have made some progress because we have concluded that there are numerous vital interests of both Belgrade and Zagreb, which is the precondition for solving the situation in this part of the Balkans. There is only one remaining question, and it refers to our negotiations about Prevlaka.

Navy in Plain Clothes

[Juricic] So the Yugoslav Army is withdrawing from Boka [Kotorska] into the Bay of Valdanos near Ulcinj?

[Bulatovic] We think that the Boka Kotorska Bay is so beautiful, and that in the meanwhile the geostrategic and political and all other international circumstances have changed so much to keep such a big fleet in that place. Within the framework of the transformation of the whole navy, and within the framework of the Dayton agreement on disarmament and armament control, I think that it is a good and rational move to direct the largest part of the fleet to civilian usage, which we have been working on persistently, as well as to move a part of the fleet out of there. The existing potential in the Boka Kotorska Bay would still be used, but to an incomparably smaller extent, because the most important aspect, apart from the military security, is its use as a tourist attraction and the valorization of that region. There are many economic motives that direct both sides to normalize mutual relations as soon as possible.

[Juricic] Recently you have frequently been flying to Washington, in the company of Prime Minister Djukanovic. There has been much speculation on a possible secession of the Republic of Montenegro from FRY. Is that a possible option?

[Bulatovic] It is a realistic and possible option, if the citizens of Montenegro want it, because there are democratic conditions to express their meaning, and according to the present opinion surveys, that option is not current. What the citizens of Montenegro convincingly support is a recognizable Montenegro policy in FRY. We Montenegrins are very proud people, in some things perhaps even pretentious, and we want to establish some ideas, and be the promoters of those ideas within a bigger state union, like the FRY. Within that framework, the Constitution of the FRY offers very wide possibilities for us to express our individuality.

Incidents

[Juricic] A long time ago the press noted down your statements like: "What do we need sovereignty for?" or "If we are unequal, we will opt out." However, if you will allow me, the Territorial Defense has been dissolved, and the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Montenegro has also been dissolved, while the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia has not. We also know about the unprecedented case of the chief of the State Security Service of Montenegro, Bosko Vujovic, going to Belgrade to take over a higher position. Further, the criminal law has been completely centralized and transferred to Belgrade, by decree, the airports in Podgorica and Tivat have been taken from Montenegro and given to JAT [Yugoslav Air Transport], that is, to Serbia. Montenegro has canceled tourist visas, but Belgrade continues to collect money for them, because many travel agencies have given up Montenegro. Belgrade opposes privatization to the extent that for Montenegro it is almost impossible to do business with anyone else than with Belgrade. Is that equality!?

[Bulatovic] If we talk about incidents, then, there are always incidents, and it is our decision in Montenegro not to be conciliatory with such individual examples that you have just listed, and not to bring into question the strategic central dilemma—to secede or not to secede. The negligence of JAT as the national air carrier, and its temporary, nominal ownership of the airports in Tivat and Podgorica, do not disturb our activities on founding a Montenegrin air company at all. My estimation is that it is perfectly possible for Montenegro to take the more courageous road of privatization, and that it is perfectly indisputable that Serbia, too, will have to take that road sooner or later, because that is the road to joining international financial institutions. There is no reason for tension between Serbia and Montenegro because of that.

[Juricic] And perhaps there are no tensions because of an identity crisis with the Montenegrins?

[Bulatovic] You know, the country with such a long history and with such a strongly founded statehood cannot experience an identity crisis. Montenegro is that both the party leaders and common people talk about, and I think that it is a fortunate circumstance that the Montenegrins carry that statehood in their genes, and they know that a state is an expensive thing, and that one has to be utterly rational toward it.

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Decoration of Nemanjici

[Juricic] You do not believe that 600,000 people in such a small territory could independently, without Serbia, economically survive or live better?

[Bulatovic] I do believe it! I do! But I think that the terms of sovereignty in today's world nevertheless must be interpreted differently, and not as traditionally as one used to do from national romantic positions. I think that precisely what Montenegro has been doing, is in the deepest European trend, and that the future of Europe, nevertheless, is the Europe of regions. That is, it wishes to belong to a bigger union and simultaneously to maintain its special quality and individuality.

[Juricic] Then why did you not graciously accept to join Europe in The Hague in 1991? You mysteriously went to Belgrade, and stayed in the Balkans. Have you seen "The Death of Yugoslavia" series?

[Bulatovic] I have not had the courage. It is too early. But I still remember the details very well and the Hague Protocol had no independence offer for each of the Yugoslav republics but only for those who wanted it, and at the same time it also left an opportunity for individual republics to create associations according to their wishes. Since the president of Serbia did not accept that, the next offer in The Hague offered a much worse solution which was not acceptable for me, either. I had no particular reason to consult and to yield to the pressures from Belgrade because the whole discussion on the occasion of my decisionmaking and departure for The Hague was broadcast by TV Montenegro, too. At the moment when I felt that our National Assembly was divided and that it was possible that a wrong decision could be made, with wider implications, I asked them to leave the decision to me. It is easier if one man makes a mistake, than the whole national assembly. But The Hague, in my own personal opinion, even today is one big missed chance, but not for the independence of Montenegro but for a rational and sober compromise in the territory of former Yugoslavia, which we have finally reached, but after many, many casualties, a lot of bloodshed, and devastation which, in fact, were unnecessary.

[Juricic] Allegedly you have been decorated with the Decoration of Nemanjici for helping the Serb Republic, "the Serbian cause"?

[Bulatovic] I must say that I have never received that Decoration of Nemanjici, that is, it was a decision of the Serb Republic to decorate some people, and I read about it, but I have never been given an opportunity to be offered such a decoration.

Election Victory

[Juricic] Is this one of your last interviews as the president of the Republic of Montenegro? In public the building in which the Government resides in Podgorica is called "two coffins for Milo and Momir."

[Bulatovic] You know, for a long time the Liberals in Montenegro have been singing: "As long as there are Milo and Momir, there will be no peace." But look, here are Milo and Momir, and they have been here for a full six, seven years, and thank the Lord, there is also peace. I can hardly wait for the election campaign, and regardless of the fact that I am the president, I will make myself maximally available to my party, the Democratic Alliance of Socialist, because I think that it can win and that it deserves the prevailing confidence of the citizens of Montenegro.

[Juricic] The whole opposition is united against the ruling set of people. In order to topple Milo and Momir, the extremities have united themselves: the Populists—unionists and the Liberals—who demand independence.

[Bulatovic] I think that those who have made an union have serious problems, and the political programs created against something and not for something rarely win the confidence of the electorate. But that is not a problem that bothers me. The division is natural for Montenegro, and it makes sense only if channeled through democratic institutions. I am happy because these, let us call them, the green option and white option, those national and civic options, have their proper reflection in the political life of Montenegro. Thanks to the roles of both Kilibarda and Perovic, Montenegro has skipped a significant phase of development. In the next elections there will no longer be talk about who is a traitor, and who is a criminal, and who has committed a sin. Now we will discuss whether we, the authority, are corrupted, whether we are criminals or thieves, and that is, nevertheless, entry into the economic subjects and into the internal policy. Montenegro has no democratic experience, but it has preconditions for democracy. Here, the word [honor] was something around which the whole world turned and sometimes heads rolled. We have had a crash course in democracy because in our mentality there is an awareness of having to take care of protecting others from ourselves.

[Juricic] Do you experience the so-called Montenegrin option for independence, advocated by the Liberal League of Montenegro, as nationalist? Are they bringing some kind of Montenegrin Spring [reference to Croatian revolutionary movement in 1971, the Croatian Spring]?

[Bulatovic] I think that is a perfectly legitimate political option which rightfully, a bit more aggressively then I

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prefer, struggles to win the support of the electorate, but so far I cannot see that they will have any success in it. The Montenegrin Spring can be whenever elections take place, and as the usual practice is for these to take place in fall or winter, then it can also be a Montenegrin Fall or Winter.

Equality

[Juricic] You absolutely deny the inferior position of Montenegro in relation to Serbia in the FRY?! There are also opinions that the Montenegrins have in such a union become a minority that cannot realize its sovereign rights.

[Bulatovic] Probably there are a certain number of our citizens who feel inferior, however, what is politically important, is that they are a minority. I, as the president of Montenegro, and as a man who, by a combination of circumstances frequently travels to Belgrade, by no means feel inferior. The FRY Constitution offers conditions of absolute equality.

[Juricic] The statistics from the archives show that your sentences most frequently start with the words: "Much cleverer people than me have already said."

[Bulatovic] I really do think that the most difficult job in the world is to be at the head of a small state. The president of the United States or Russia can say that he does not know about something, or that something does not interest him. Here you face everybody and everything every day— neighbors, relatives, friends, and the biggest global problems, and when a man does that he must see how the cleverer and more skillful men have solved those problems, and looked for historical parallels and analogies whose application could help us today, too.

[Box, p 7]

In Zadar They Think I Have Gone Bananas

[Bulatovic] I attended high school in Zadar, and I have many fond memories of Zadar. I have been asking people, trying to find out what was destroyed, what was devastated. I hope that some corners, some playgrounds where I played in the sand, have been preserved. But in Zadar, the way I remember it, where I never felt discriminated against, it was perfectly legal to wave a Montenegrin tricolor. There I was registered as a Montenegrin from the first grade of my primary school. I was supposed to go to the celebration of the anniversary of our high school graduation, then when these unfortunate events started, of course, I was not able to go. I talked on the phone with some of my colleagues, who, in a most benign way, told me that they were surprised because I was a nice guy while I was in Zadar, and now they think that I have gone bananas in this office.

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